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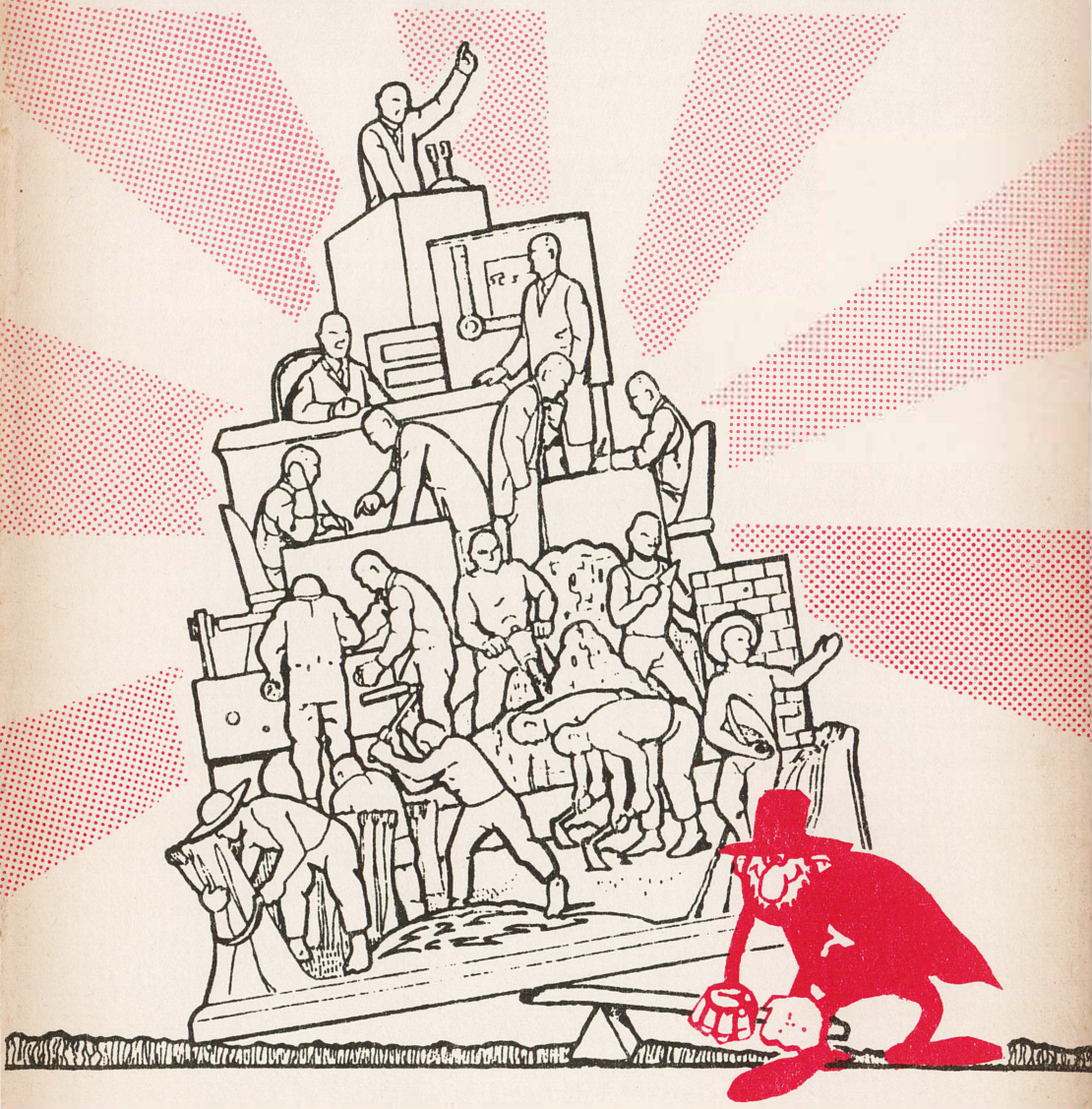

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RED & BLACK

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The Australian Scene

After twenty painful years of struggle the A.L.P. finally succeeded in becoming a government. The event was greeted by the left as a triumph for radicalism and socialism.

The term "radicalism" often creeps into the New Left phraseology. It has been the catchword rallying all forces opposed to the war in Vietnam, to conscription, the Establishment and the Liberal Government. Soon after the defeat of the Liberals, the official termination of the Vietnam War, the end of conscription and the installment of a labour government, radicalism has been quickly absorbed by the A.L.P. The reasons: its objectives were the old authoritarian socialist cliches: capture the state and change it into a weapon of the revolution. The facts: paradoxically, no socialist state is any nearer to socialism. The state is an expression and a creator of class divisions and social antagonism and, as such, is an extension of the bourgeoisie.

The radicals have dispersed, to appear here and there as staunch supporters of the A.L.P.'s policies. As its agents they are trying their quixotic task: to radicalize the Public Service and the Commonwealth Police. Also they are trying to smooth over the antagonism between labour and capital and to stabilize the existing social order. And so they are becoming the spearhead of the bourgeoisie.

Their proclivity to such nefarious activities lies in the radicals' misconception of radicalism. If we adopt Webster's definition of radicalism "overturning and changing the existing state of things" then the A.L.P. has no claim to it.

The A.L.P. is a conservative social democratic party. It stands for the stability of capitalism. It supports the existing social order. Its function is to paralyse any revolutionary awareness; to harmonize social antagonisms and thus prevent the workers from seeing through the liberal-bourgeois ideology. It encourages nationalism at the expense of internationalism and thus strengthens the dominant social relationship.

The war in Vietnam, the conscription, the myopic internal and external policy of the Liberals have produced confrontation between the forces of law and order and their opposition. In the process of confrontation there has been observed the awakening of a revolutionary tendency. To prevent such trands from materializing, the most progressive bourgeoisie shift allegiance from the Liberals to the A.L.P. Once in power A.L.P. militancy ends in Social Democratic social harmony. Social Democracy today more than ever stands for virulent aggressive neo-capitalism. Where the Liberals have failed labour tries to succeed, as usual at the expense of the revolution.

To speak of the A.L.P. as a socialist party is absurd. A party which preserves the capitalist structure in the mode of production, exchange and distribution cannot be classified, or thought of, as a socialist one. Socialism means workers' self-management. It means autogestion, direct involvement and participation in the control of production, distribution and the problems of the environment. It means an end to the master-slave relationship, and its corollary: leaders and elitism. Socialism, stripped of its ideological content is pure anarchism. This was clearly understood by the anti-authoritarian sections of the international in their congress at Saint-ilmier one hundred years ago. They declared: *

"1. The destruction of the political power is the first duty of the proletariat.
2. To organize the proletariat in a provisional political party capable of accelerating the destruction of the state is a deception and as dangerous as any of the existing governments.
3. WE reject all compromises as a means to achieve the Social Revolution. The proletariat of all countries has to establish the solidarity of revolutionary action outside of all bourgeois politics."

But one may argue that for some socialists, radicals and leftists history does not exist except when it is used as an "historical method" to apologize for the historical function of their dysfunctional socialism and counter-revolutionary social practices.
*My translation.

by Jack the Anarchist

The Universities' Education System and Authoritarianism

In a recent issue of this journal J. Grancharoff[1] raised several issues about what an anti-authoritarian academic should do when confronted by "University as it is today — a factory for the technicians, bureaucrats and elitists" whose function is "the perpetuation of the Establishment."

In this paper I develop further criticisms of the erosion of collective creative study by authoritarian patterns derived from society at large and practiced widely in Australian universities.

Thinkers like Illich believe that most of our institutions are undergoing a "crisis of legitimacy", that they are heading towards collapse. I want to highlight one aspect of this crisis, namely 'the corruption of responsibility'. It marks the shift of responsibility from the person in a relationship to whom it is owed to the authoritarian and manipulative structure of the institution in which it occurs.

Teachers and students no longer act in recognition of the responsibility to each other for the intended and, perhaps, unintended effects of their mutual influence. Instead they are "responsible" to, and are the "responsibility" of, offices and officials: the member of staff, the department and its head, the faculty, the Board, etc. Thus education loses its human character — acting responsibly towards the other person — and becomes mechanical and manipulative.

A significant index of this corruption is the fact that among those whose metier is education there is very little critical and experimental thinking about what they are doing. The fundamental issue of the value involved in the very idea of the present highly structured form of education hardly ever gets discussed. Though we get an abundance of meetings and committees concerned with making day to day or year to year administrative decisions, reflection as to the sort of values promoted by the institutionalised form of education we are engaged in receives scant attention.

We should distinguish between "institutionalised values" and the values the individuals engaged in educative activities consciously have and believe they are promoting, since what often occurs is that a person's activity incorporates a conflict or contradiction; a contradiction between values he acknowledges as those his activity is aimed at and the values his activity within an institution in fact promotes. A simple illustration: suppose a class wants to promote critical thought within a certain area of inquiry and in partial fulfilment of that end devises a form of testing which will enable them to determine the level of critical awareness in a participant. **If this occurs within a socio-economic system that imposes official grading and places substantial privilege and gain on obtaining high grades, the participants inevitably**

become competitors for that high grade. Within such a system no form of testing could remain internal to the educative process, for the act of giving a mark becomes selective, no matter what the intentions of the person setting the test and those taking it may be. It follows that within such a context assessment will incorporate ambiguously two values: the value of determining the level of critical awareness in those engaged in an activity in order to improve it or heighten it, and the value of selecting for further privileges. These values are in conflict: by imposing standards that are external to the level of awareness of any given student – the students being required to sit the same test regardless of their differences and having played no part in setting it – the process of selection is essentially a manipulative process. In contrast, trying to find out and improve the level of understanding and critical awareness of a certain aspect of reality is essentially a cooperative venture, its various stages being wholly determined by the acts of communication between the participants. Selecting people in or out of a worthwhile activity because at some externally set time they succeed or fail to understand something, strikes me as racist. It becomes doubly inhuman when we reflect that tests designed to select are not genuine attempts to discover an individual's level and area of understanding.

Some examples from philosophy

The activity of philosophizing, like a multitude of other human activities, is a fusion of something permanent with something impermanent. What is permanent is the habit or disposition to ask highly abstract questions and pose very general problems about some aspect of reality, the crucial concern being the critical discovery of the true word – I don't just mean the right name – for that aspect of reality. The impermanent aspect of philosophizing belongs to the inevitable cultural and historical determination of what in a particular epoch counts as an important aspect of reality.

In his first year the newcomer to the philosophy population encounters a great variety of areas within which philosophical questions have arisen in the past and may arise today. The names of 'options', therefore may appear quite attractive: Dialectic, Logic, Freedom, Power and Authority, the Explanation of Man, Doubt and Certainty, God and Nature, Fact and Value, etc. These are 'names' of areas of reality and of human preoccupation that will certainly appeal to professional philosophers and should be widely suggestive to a new member of the philosophy population. He is then faced with a substantial body of prepared material mostly concerned with the critical evaluation of the problems and theories of some professionally recognised philosophical figure or school. The teacher regards this as a worthwhile introduction either to the sort of questions or problems he, the teacher, is interested in and considers important or to the sort of philosophical background knowledge which he, the teacher, considers necessary for a person being counted as an educated member of the philosophical population.

At tutorials, essays and examinations, the student is asked to show how much of that material he has assimilated and what level of ability in philosophizing he has attained. The grade assigned is meant to indicate his score in both.

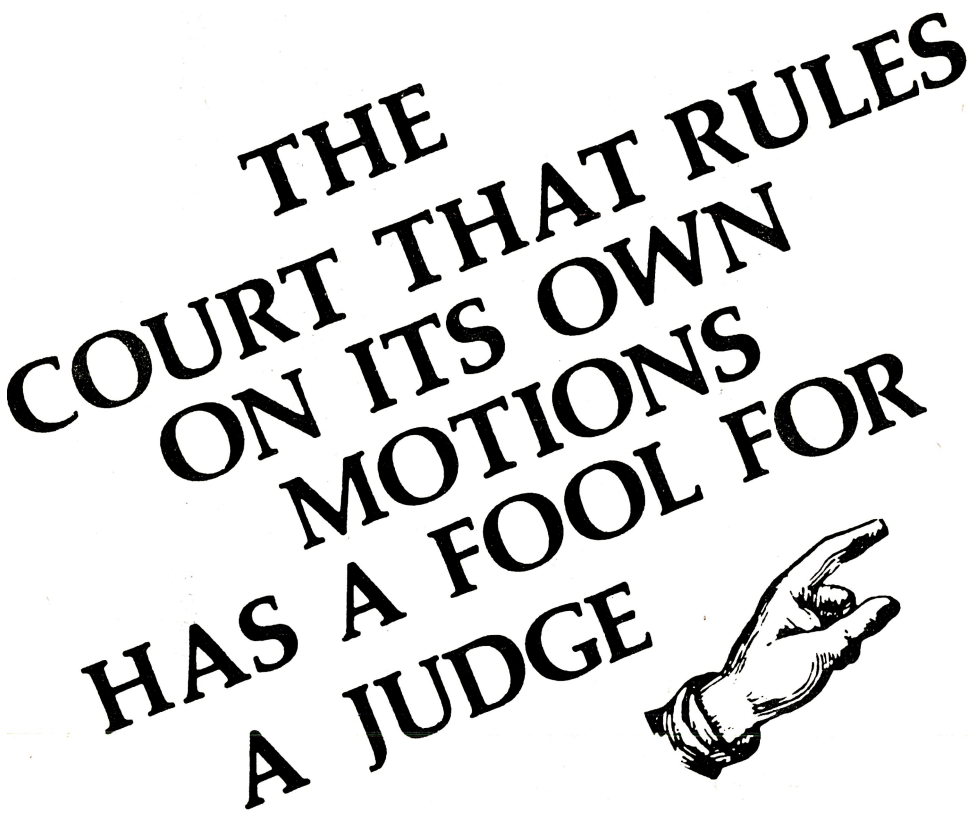
I believe it to be wrong that when someone is received into a human community or population he be merely instructed in the ways and activities of that community. Any such one-way process is manipulative and dehumanizing precisely **because it proceeds on the assumption that the new arrival is incapable of understanding and critically evaluating the community's activities.**

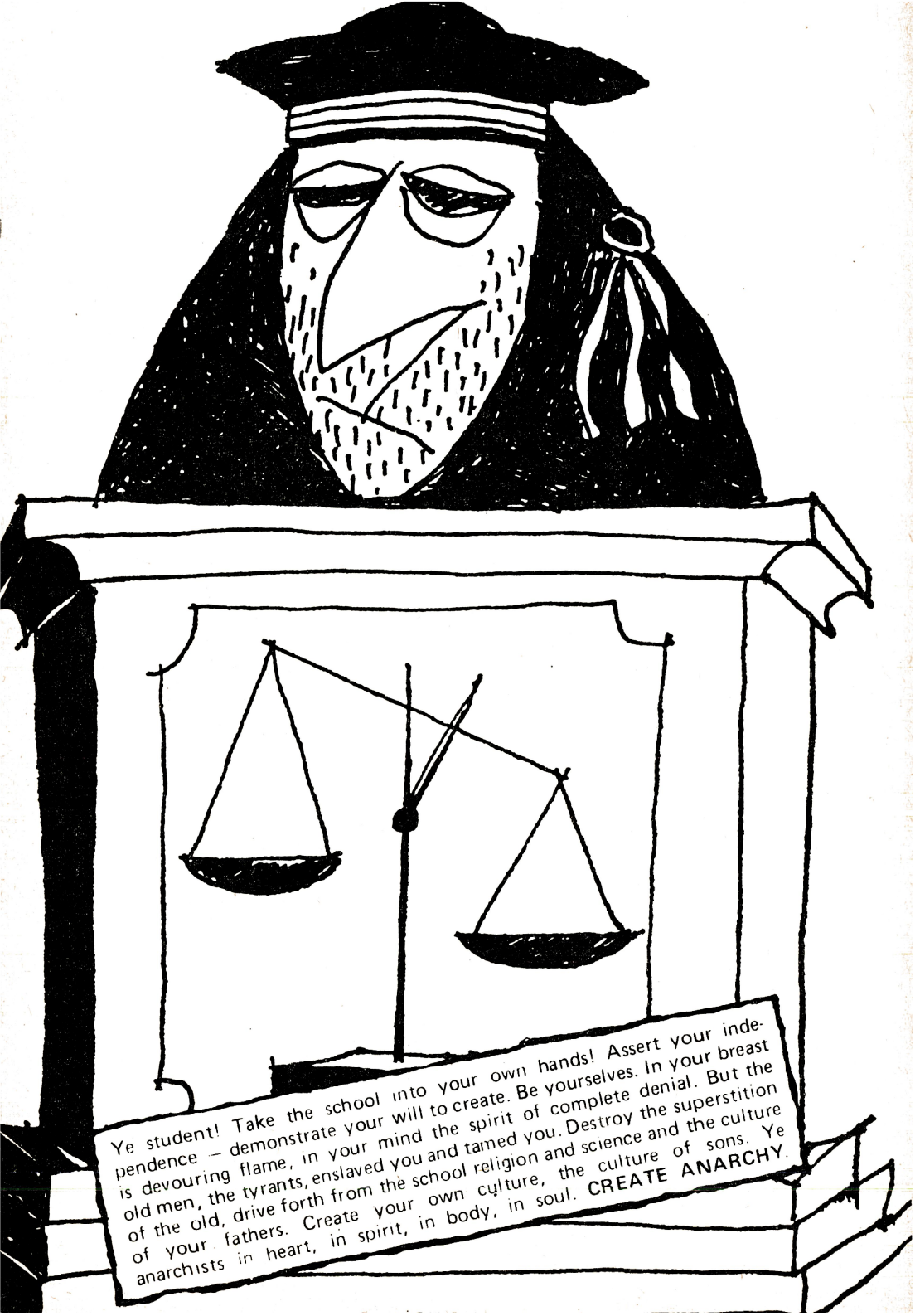
The difficult problem here arises from the fact that the newcomer's perception of the community's activities may be limited or inadequate because of lack of information, factors in his own cultural background and the unfamiliar and radical nature of his new experience. But even though a proper understanding and critical evaluation of an activity depends on the adequate perception of that activity, it is in no way clear that the way to achieve such perception is for the newcomer to forcefully steep himself in that activity first and ask critical questions about it later. The demand that the newcomer acts thus confuses the capacity for critical understanding and evaluation with the skill to perceive adequately. Hence the mistake is made that to

develop in the newcomer the skill to perceive a certain activity adequately – and this is best done by submitting him to the activity – is also to promote the newcomer's critical understanding of that activity. But why should this be so? Is it not in fact more likely that this process of 'acculturization' – particularly if rewards and punishments are attached to it – will result in an uncritical acceptance or rejection of that activity? After all, the newcomer wishing to find out whether the activity is worthwhile or not finds himself submitted to a process designed to make him adept at that activity. This means that he must take the word of his instructors that the activity is worthwhile since the absence of a skill is looked upon as a lack of the capacity to understand and evaluate.

Our student, then, is a sort of migrant. Eager and anxious to discover the character and worth of life in the new community he is met with the demand to conform to the community's habits and implicit preferences. Critical comments may come later, to ensure, presumably, that the type of comment offered is familiar and acceptable. "Assimilative" processes – treating people as mere acquisitors of skills – are antithetical to the educative process for they disregard the fact that the basic human capacity to understand and evaluate is not a skill. The human mind is not a virgin bit of putty to be moulded to perform in various ways. If it were, what would entitle someone to do the moulding?

Must philosophy have 'subjects'? Offering options in philosophy recognizes the fact that philosophizing can occur within a vast area of human preoccupation. The value intended is to introduce the newcomer to the activity of philosophizing by building on the questions he can recognise as important. In a crucial respect, however, the institutional structure of our practice belies that intention: the requirement that the student must do so many out of so many options, transforms an area of inquiry into a 'subject', a complex of a body of knowledge and a set of skills (e.g. being able to select which portion of reading material is appropriate to what topic, being able to find your way through indexes and chapter-headings, being able to summarise and compress large chunks of reading into digestible and – should we not add? – regurgitable size, being able to tell – or guess? – that certain points or arguments are thought by the instructors as more important or central than others, and so on). Thus what began as an area of inquiry becomes a set of skills, that must be mastered. You quickly learn that what your choice of area of inquiry was actually committed you to is not the cooperative and essentially dislectical discovery of what the important questions and problems within that area may be but the fact that certain ways of dealing with such material must be assimilated. Just as the migrant learned that 'being an Australian' is to engage in certain 'standard' forms of behaviour, and fails to understand that complex network of agreement in judgement and perception that underlies forms of life in Australia, so the student learns that 'doing philosophy' is mastering 'subjects' x, y, z, and fails to grasp that philosophizing is the intellectual habit of inquiring critically the important things he takes for granted. For a newcomer such understanding can only be achieved through a slow, dialectical, struggle with the activity or form of life he encounters. At least, only so can his ultimate acceptance or rejection of it be critical and not mechanical.





Ye student! Take the school into your own hands! Assert your independence — demonstrate your will to create. Be yourselves. In your breast is devouring flame, in your mind the spirit of complete denial. But the old men, the tyrants, enslaved you and tamed you. Destroy the superstition of the old, drive forth from the school religion and science and the culture of your fathers. Create your own culture, the culture of sons. Ye anarchists in heart, in spirit, in body, in soul. **CREATE ANARCHY.**

Our concern should be to make it possible for students continually to ask critical questions as to why we or they should consider certain questions, problems, and theories important. And we ought to be able to arrive at a cooperative agreement with them as to what might be important topics and how to discuss them. We must realise that the often repeated question "But, why are we doing all this, what is the point of it all?" is a genuine and valid question. The degree of urgency attached to it being an index of how much the students' basic capacity to understand and evaluate is being denied by our practice.

How then, are we to make our practice incorporate our real intentions? One possibility is that, as older and established members of the philosophical community, we see ourselves not as possessors of a body of knowledge to be deposited in the students, and avoid promoting a 'banking' concept of education where the teacher instead of communicating, issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, temporarily retain, and later relinquish. We can try to see ourselves as what we wish to be, people committed to inquiry, i.e. to the habit of asking a certain type of question and to a distinct style of discussion. For my part I believe that apart from inquiry, men cannot be truly human—it is this value that new members of the philosophical community should become conscious of in their activity — and that genuine knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men persue in the world, with the world, and with each other.

In receiving newcomers to the philosophical community, we can act as organisers and coordinators whose task is to set up appropriate communication situations — situations in which the 'old' philosopher can engage in a dialectical discovery of what the important issues and the important questions are. The teacher discovering which themes and which words are capable of generating philosophical themes, the student discovering gradually the language of philosophical activity.

Our experience with set essays and annual examinations is a constant disappointment as to how much our 'instruction' is understood. We are all aware of an enormous gap between what we 'deposit' and the returns on such deposits. We then put it down to laziness, lack of interst, lack of background, etc. But isn't the situation different? Isn't it really like the native speaker in a community assuming — not consciously but by the way he speaks — a far greater degree of familiarity with the language on the part of a foreigner than could possibly be the case. Foreigners, then, can't help looking dumb, unintelligent and uninterested. They would look less so if we bothered to determine at every stage their grasp of the language and what it was they were interested to say in the language.

The teacher is an oppressive figure

The oppressive character of our encounter with students spreads over other aspects of our relations with them such as teaching and assessment. Whatever our intentions, the reality of our practice (booklets, lectures, tutorials) engenders a consciousness in the newcomer the articulation of which may go something like this: 'They — the teachers — consider themselves knowledgeable and they propose to bestow upon us this knowledge as a gift. They must consider we know nothing. They are pleased when we act as if we know nothing and show eagerness and gratitude for their gift. They get irritated when we do act as if we know something which is different from what they possess. They sometimes call it irrelevant and sometimes unphilosophical. **The idea that we are the same as they is deeply offensive to them and disturbing.** Though on the one hand they welcome us to join them, they treat us as opposites to them until such time as they deem us ready for philosophical citizenship. We are therefore an oppressed class.' It must not be forgotten that the oppression voiced here is voiced by a member of a very small and extremely privileged member of our society.

The projection of absolute ignorance onto another is a characteristic of the ideology of oppression. Its inhuman character is starkly evident in racial, colonial and national minority situations. In the case of education, it absolutely negates "education"

and knowledge as processes of inquiry. **The teacher presents himself to the students as their necessary opposite;** by considering their ignorance absolute he justifies his own existence. Our teaching practice reveals the relation between teacher and student to be contradictory in a Hegelian sense; though they are necessary opposites (he owns the knowledge, they lack it) the teacher requires the students as a justification of his existence as a teacher, and they require him as a justification of their absolute ignorance, except that this 'ignorance' is projected onto them by the teacher's practice. This 'contradiction' is maintained through various attitudes and practices. Let us reflect on how close we come to what we may call the "ten commandments" of educational oppression:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
2. The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.
3. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about (i.e., if we do such and such, they will perform better.)
4. The teacher talks and the students listen.
5. The teachers discipline and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.
7. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.
8. The teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.
9. The teacher treats the authority of knowledge as if it were his own professional authority, which he then sets in opposition to the freedom of the students.
10. The teacher is the active agent of the learning process, while the students are the passive recipients of this process. (2)

Full citizens of the philosophical community rightly consider such attitudes and practices antithetical to knowledge as the praxis of inquiry. Yet the new-comers to philosophy, those we wish to welcome to this praxis, are submitted to precisely those attitudes and practices that are antithetical to it. Doesn't the complaint that students are increasingly showing signs of uncooperative behaviour (not attending classes, taking no pride in their work, falling asleep in tutorials, saying very little when urged or commanded to talk) remind you of the complaint "servants" or "boys" or "natives" are not what they used to be?

The relevant action in this context is surely reconciliation, the breaking-down or solution of the teacher-student contradiction by reconciling the two poles so that both are silumtaneously teachers and students.

Abandoning the idea of a required number of 'subjects' and forming ourselves into suitable student-teacher groups, we can then seek the sort of questions and problems that elicit a responsive chord in the group. The staff-member as organizer can then advise about reading (though the students themselves may have suggestions), what lectures, papers, discussion groups, etc. should be arranged. He may, for example, be able to invite someone from outside the group or even the university to speak on a topic and answer questions. These are only suggestions, since it would be a mistake to prescribe a static pattern for what is in fact a dynamic process. The important thing is that at no time the teachers act as if the students are their opposites, for they are both involved in inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge.

Teacher's stress of professional authority is unnecessary and can only be at the expense of freedom of the students. For whatever the grounds on which a teacher is appointed, the concrete reality of his encounter with students calls for preparedness to engage in dialectical inquiry in a shared interest. If we cannot make the extraordinary assumption that only as a certified professional can someone kindle the love of knowledge and inquiry, the teacher's professional authority has no place in the dialogical process. He is, however, responsible for making himself available as an educational resource.

Grades – the coin of the educational market

The recent preoccupation by both staff and students with modes of assessment, and the comparatively large amount of time and effort spent on the question of its reform is not surprising. Given the socioeconomic framework within which the university plays its present role, the most real and meaningful relationship between a student and the staff of the university is that which makes the staff the assessors and the students the assessed. Educationally, it is also the least meaningful.

Grades, like wages, represent the value a piece of work fetches in the institutional market. The analogy with economic structure has deep roots in the phenomena of acquisitiveness, competitiveness and aggression. Be that as it may, the ideal that a reward should express the worth of one's labour in terms of one's consciousness of one's ability, effort and need and not as dictated by external interest and investment, has its parallel in the ideal that a student's grade represents the worth of his work as a consciousness of his ability, interest and effort. **Similarly, the clash of the first ideal with the alienating reality of men working for what they can get out of an employer within the economic, political and industrial determinants at a given time, parallels the clash of the second ideal with the alienating reality of a student's 'working' for a degree, a job, a social position, as these are determined by external socio-economic factors.** Inevitably, obtaining and giving grades are geared to considerations of what such grades will fetch in the open market of academic, social and financial reward.

It is interesting to note that defenders of such a "liberal" freemarket conception of assessment are committed to a separation of assessment from the educational process. The annual examination is not a cooperative activity between teacher and student aimed at discovering the nature and extent of critical awareness engendered by teaching during some period. It is a device for preserving a system, that of 'liberal' education and the 'freedom' of the student to organise his work in his own way. **But the real bite of this liberal system of education is that some assessment of quality of work during a period is needed for future reference.** Thus the freedom the student is given is not so much to organise his own work according to his interests, but to discover what quality of work he will need for future reference.

Those that have sought to liberate the student from the threat of annual examination by substituting essay work – a half-measure – did so wishing to remove the student's anxiety of trying to work out for himself what such future reference might ask of him; **the anxiety of how the goods he has now been given total freedom to produce will sell on the open market.** Obviously, he needs some reliable knowledge of the state of the market, its trends and changes, else he is faced with failure and bankruptcy.

On this view the separation of the procedure of assessment from the process of education makes sense. After all, in a freemarket economy what prices your goods or labour will fetch has nothing to do with what human value your work has for you.

It ought to be obvious that as educators the only form of assessment we are committed to is one that is internal to the process of education, i.e. whatever method or procedure will reveal to a particular student the level of his understanding, his ability, his knowledge and his ignorance. Yet, the social reality of the university and its degree structure imposes upon the educative process an alien and exploitative pressure whose keynote is selectivity at all costs.

by Kim Lycos

(1) J. Grancharoff, "Leftism and the University", **Red and Black,** No. 4, 1972, pp 2-6.
(2) Paulo Freire, **Pedagory of the Oppressed,** Sheed Ward, 1972.

Karl Korsch:

a marxist friend of anarchism

Karl Korsch (1886-1961), who is today being rediscovered by the "new left", was one of the major theoreticians of left communism. Of the three major theoreticians of 1920's marxism – Gramsci, Lukacs and Korsch – Korsch is at once the one of most interest to anarchists and also, I believe, the superior marxist.

Marxists of the 1920s have an interest for anarchists of a quite different order from those of any other period. The reason is that for a brief period after the First World War marxism was a revolutionary doctrine in a way that it had not been since Marx nor has been again (leaving aside its use as an ideology of basically peasant-nationalist revolutions.) In that brief period the Russian Revolution served as a rallying point for left-wing intellectuals of all shades of red and black, and these joined with anarchist workers and socialist workers of a syndicalist stamp to form the basis of the new parties of the Third International. Except in Spain, anarchist and syndicalist organisations everywhere lost ground to these new parties which rapidly evolved into bureaucratic state socialist organisations interested in the control of the working-class movement. During this evolution those anarchists, syndicalists and left-socialists who held true to the initial promise of the Russian Revolution were isolated, weeded out and kept by the party's superior organisation from the access to the working class that alone could sustain a revolutionary movement. Karl Korsch was one of the casualties of this process.

Although Gramsci had been a supporter of workers' councils, and in prison tended to associate with syndicalists, he did not become a left opponent of the Commintern. The reasons would seem to be that, firstly, the Italian problem was not revolution but defence against fascism; secondly, Gramsci was opposed to the abstract leftism of Bordiga who was connected with the German ultra-left; and thirdly, Gramsci's imprisonment kept him out of harm's way and isolated him from the convulsions of the international movement. The cases of Korsch and Lukacs are much clearer.

Lukacs was a member of a marginal bourgeois group (the jewish intelligentsia) in a semi-feudal country (Hungary). Prior to 1917 his interests were primarily literary although he had been influenced by Szabo – an intellectual who took his syndicalism from Sorel. Not surprisingly his initial position as a revolutionary was utopian and abstractly ultra-left; his later evolution to a "right-wing", almost social-democratic, position (Blum Theses 1929) was quite reasonable given that Hungary only ceased to be feudal in 1945. On the other hand his accommodation to Stalinism, however partial and "insincere" it is alleged to have been, is hard to forgive.

Korsch's knowledge of the workers' movement was, at the end of the war, of an altogether different order from Lukacs'. Educated at several universities in economics, law, sociology and philosophy, he became a doctor of jurisprudence in 1911 and went to England where he joined the Fabian society and studied the syn-

dicalist and Guild socialist movements. He was already opposed to the marxist orthodoxy which defined socialism as the negation of capitalism by nationalisation, saw the coming of socialism as inevitable and conceived marxism as a pure "science" separate from the practice of the workers' movement. His opposition to this orthodoxy turned Korsch's attention to the Fabian's concern with the preparation of individuals for socialism through education and to the syndicalists' stress on the conscious activity of the workers as the basis both of the revolution and the management of a socialist economy. From his very earliest articles he stressed the role of consciousness in the struggle for socialism and the importance of working class self-activity. After the war he developed his ideas further by working out schemes for socialisation coupled with workers' control.

At the beginning of the 1914-18 war Korsch was conscripted in the German army and went to the front, but he was against the war and, although wounded twice, never carried a gun himself. He welcomed the formation of the anti-war socialist movement and after the war joined the Independent Socialist Party (USPD). Still opposed to "orthodox" and "revisionist" marxism, at that time he believed that a third current, "practical socialism", was being formed and was represented by Luxembourg and Lenin. For this tendency the transition to socialism was a "conscious human act". Korsch became sufficiently Leninist by 1924 to see the revolutionary act as the act of a mass revolutionary party but he still saw the party as a means to an end of a direct democracy of workers' councils. Although he went with the majority of the USPD into the communist party (KPD) he argued against Moscow's twenty-one conditions of affiliation; in particular he opposed the demand for a parallel illegal organisation which would be out of the control of the party masses.

Despite his reservations, Korsch rapidly rose to be a leader of the KPD. He became editor of the party journal and a deputy in the Reichstag. This he owed to his theoretical pre-eminence for, although he had always rejected social-democratic "marxism", he had been led in his legal studies to see society and the economy as the basis of legal systems and, during the brief liberation of marxism from orthodoxy his previous philosophical, sociological and economic studies served him well. However, this situation soon changed; after 1923 he was obviously on the left-wing of the KPD; in 1924 his 1923 book **Marxism and Philosophy** was denounced at the executive meeting of the communist international and he was removed from his editorial position in 1925; in 1926 he was excluded from the KPD.

According to Mattick, Korsch always had a critical attitude to the emerging Russian state but in the early period of the Russian revolution, when all the forces of reaction were arrayed against it, he believed that a revolutionary had to support it. Furthermore, although the Russian revolution had to be a capitalist one, i.e. its mission was to develop capital and a proletariat in underdeveloped Russia, it still had a revolutionary significance if the break in the world system could be extended westward into Germany. Once Russia had reached its accommodation with Germany and other capitalist powers and had turned the Communist International into a foreign instrument of its national purposes, a revolutionary had to break with Russia. Thus in 1926 he joined the "Resolute Left" – an ultra-left group opposed to the new Russian bureaucracy and its German ally, the KPD. Even earlier he had been in contact with Sapranov of the "Democratic Centralism" group within the Russian party who believed that the Russian proletariat should break with the bolsheviks. (Korsch's views on these questions can be found in the article in French by Mattick. Very similar views are to be found in **Society of the Spectacle** by Guy Debord in the section "The Proletariat as subject and as representation".)

Unfortunately Korsch's political articles on bolshevism are not yet available in English. On the other hand we have most of his articles on marxist theory and these make plain why the split had to occur. In his 1923 work **Marxism and Philosophy** Korsch claimed to be attempting to "restore" the correct marxian position on this question in the same way, **and for the same revolutionary purposes**, as Lenin had restored the marxist position on the state in **State and Revolution** (a pamphlet

denounced as "anarchist" by the other bolsheviks). In fact what he did was to show how marxism had become an ideology of the workers' movement: for Korsch marxism, whether in its pre-1848 "philosophical" form or its post-1848 "scientific" form, was neither a science nor a philosophy, it was either the theoretical consciousness of a proletarian revolutionary practice or it was a "marxist" ideology unrelated to practice or concealing a counter-revolutionary practice. All this was placed in the context of a violent attack on the orthodox marxism of Kautsky, and hence, said Korsch, was against the second International and for the third International. In saying these things, Korsch trampled on all that marxist orthodoxy, German or Russian, social-democratic or bolshevik, held dear.

In 1930 when Korsch returned to the question to write an anti-critique he was clear on what had happened. Unbeknown to him, he had been "guilty" of deviation from the emerging marxist-leninist orthodoxy based on Kautsky and Plekhanov. Thus for the Russians there was a materialist marxist philosophy (given in Lenin's **Materialism and Empirio-criticism**) and also a marxist science which, following Kautsky, had to be brought to the proletariat from outside by bourgeois intellectuals (as expounded in Lenin's **What is to be Done?**). Thus what Korsch had thought to be a new, third, current in marxism was just a new ideological variant of the old marxist orthodoxy. The special features of bolshevism were merely a reflection of the special tasks which the ideology was to perform in undeveloped Russia. This discovery of the ideological nature of communist theory and the collapse of all revolutionary marxist workers' movements in the face of counter-revolution, implied a re-evaluation of marxism.

For Korsch marxist theory was the general expression of the existing revolutionary movement. In counter-revolutionary periods marxism could be developed further in its scientific content but once marxism was developed as a pure science separate from its connection with the proletarian movement it tended to become an ideology. Thus the link between theory and practice was not anything to do with the application of a science but meant simply that theory was the articulated consciousness of a practical revolutionary movement. To re-establish the link required the existence of a proletarian revolutionary movement and the purging of marxism of all its ideological and bourgeois elements. The only movement which answered to the description in the Europe of the 1930's was the Spanish anarchist movement and so Korsch, while continuing his work on marxist theory, also studied Bakunin and the anarchist movement.

In his 1923 work Korsch had stressed that early marxism was a continuation in a new context of the revolutionary theory of the bourgeoisie, principally of the German idealist tradition. In his 1930 'Thesis on Hegel and the Revolution' he returned to this question and re-evaluated both Hegelian and marxist theory. Hegelian philosophy was not just the revolutionary philosophy of the bourgeoisie; it was the philosophy of the final phase of the bourgeois revolution and hence also a philosophy of the restoration. Thus the dialectical method is not the purely revolutionary principle that the marxists imagined. Thus also the creation of a theory of the proletarian revolution on the basis of a "materialised" dialectic is only a transitional phase of the workers' movement. Marxism is not the theory of an independent proletarian revolution but the theory of a proletarian revolution as it develops out of the bourgeois revolution, and this theory shows its origins: it is still tainted with bourgeois revolutionary theory, that is to say with Jacobinism. This means that marxist politics remain within the orbit of bourgeois politics. As Korsch said explicitly in his 1950 **Ten Theses on Marxism Today**, marxism adheres unconditionally to the political forms of the bourgeois revolution.

The break with bourgeois politics has been carried through only by the anarchist and syndicalist movements, in the form of the break with politics as such.

Only these movements were still revolutionary in practice. For Korsch their importance was that they still maintained the ideal, everywhere else sacrificed, of class solidarity above immediate material interests and they based themselves on the self-activity of the working class as expressed in the principle of direct action.

For Every
Dollar the
Boss Has
And Didn't
Work for
Theres a Slave
Who Worked
for a Dollar
He Didn't Get!

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, Korsch supported the CNT militants' attempts to introduce workers' management in opposition to the political line of the right-wing socialists, stalinists and bourgeois republicans. This development to a syndicalist as opposed to orthodoxly marxist socialist position went parallel to a re-interpretation of marxism.

Although Korsch remained a marxist his view of marxism became increasingly critical. By 1950 he had completely rejected marxism as the **only** theory of the proletarian revolution and had made Marx one, among others, of the numerous "precursers, founders and developers of the workers' socialist movement." In 1951 he was working on a study of Bakunin and believed then that the basis of the revolutionary attitude in the modern bourgeois epoch would be an ethic Marx would have rejected as "anarchist". In his 1950 **Ten Theses** he also criticised marxism's overestimation of the state as an instrument of social revolution and the two phase theory of socialism whereby the real emancipation of the working class is put into the indefinite future. Thus he explicitly rejected the elements of marxism which separate it from anarchism.

Korsch's life's work is both an exposition and a critique of marxism from a political position close to anarchism. Although, as Korsch himself showed, marxism is not sufficient for a modern revolutionary movement, a study of Korsch's own marxism allows one to preserve the best elements of the heritage of the classical workers' movement.

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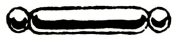

. . . the pursuit of revolutionary struggle by what **Marxism and Philosophy** called an "ideological dictatorship" is in three ways different from the **system of intellectual oppression** established in Russia today in the name of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. First of all, it is a dictatorship of the proletariat and not over the proletariat. Secondly, it is a dictatorship of a class and not of a party or party leadership. Thirdly, and most importantly, as a revolutionary dictatorship it is one element only of that radical process of social overthrow which by suppressing classes and class contradictions creates the preconditions for a 'withering away of the State', and thereby the end of all ideological constraint. The essential purpose of an 'ideological dictatorship' in this sense is to abolish its own material and ideological causes and thereby to make its own existence unnecessary and impossible. **From the very first day,** this genuine proletarian dictatorship will be distinguished from any false imitation of it by its creation of the conditions of intellectual freedom not only for 'all' workers but for 'each individual' worker. Despite the alleged 'democracy' and 'freedom of thought' in bourgeois society, this freedom has never been enjoyed anywhere by the wage slaves who suffer its physical and spiritual oppression. This is what concretely defines the Marxist concept of the revolutionary **dictatorship of the proletariat.** With it disappears the otherwise apparent contradiction between a call for 'ideological dictatorship', and the essentially critical and revolutionary nature of the method and outlook of Communism. **Socialism, both in its ends and its means, is a struggle to realize freedom.**

Karl Korsch
Marxism and Philosophy
Pages 125 and 126

The Relevance of Max Stirner

It is for me an impossible task properly to assess the work of Max Stirner. It is beyond my competence first because my scholarship of his period is inadequate and second because I cannot easily read German. As I do not read German, many of the important commentary on Stirner, and his own replies to such of them as were contemporary, are inaccessible to me as they do not appear in English translation. In particular I miss Karl Marx's criticism of **The Ego and Its Own**, which occupies three-quarters of the unpublished part of **German Ideology.** My acquaintance with this work is limited to Sidney Hook's quotations from it; and his comments thereon are enough to whet anyone's appetite for so lively an attack. But apart from missing many of the contemporary and posthumous commentaries on Stirner through a lack of understanding of German, one lacks the appreciation of the original German text of **The Ego and His Own.** Stirner's translator, Byington, points out that it is difficult to represent Stirner's exact meaning in another language, for he used the technique of analysing words in common use tracing their derivation and exposing the meaning contained in them, a meaning not always wholly acknowledged by the users of the words. In this he has some kinship with Siegmund Freud, who likewise sought people's deeper levels of meaning in the words they used, and has set his English translators the same problem.

Having acknowledged the impossibility of my doing justice to a proper assessment of Max Stirner's work, I will try to accomplish the impossible. I will confine myself to dealing with the relevance which he has for us here and now. An interest in Stirner's work was revived at the end of the last century by John Henry Mackay in Germany and by Benjamin Tucher and Dr. Walker in America, yet I do not think it had much influence on the development of the anarchist thought at that period. Anarchism in Britain was too closely tied to Marxian concepts and to evangelical socialism such as that of Keir Hardie to pay serious attention to implications of Stirner's work. It has taken the Russian revolution and the spread of totalitarian ideas throughout the world to show us the dangers inherent in collectivist socialism; anarchists are now a little ashamed of the strange bedfellows they used to have. I refer to the general trend of the anarchist movement in Britain; one might perhaps deduce the contrary from the movement in France. However, comparing the British anarchist paper **Freedom** of 1955 with the **Freedom** of 1905, we would see a marked progress in clarity of thinking and general awareness of the issues which are likely to shape the course of future history. We are less tied to the muddled mystique of proletarian revolution which dominated the anarchist and socialist movement for so long.

Interestingly enough the contemporary revival of the influence of Stirner took place in one of the most proletarian centres of Britain, the working-class quarters of

Glasgow. There you had a brilliant propaganda group arising, not during a period of slump and economic depression, but during the period of economic revival and high wages during the war. The workers were being given economic advances in return for the surrender of all that goes with self-determination and civil liberty necessitated by the war, and anarchism with a Stirnerite slant came as a powerfully attractive way of thought and action, where Marxism and evangelical socialism had nothing to offer. The anarchist movement in London, the indoor and outdoor speakers, the journal **War Commentary** and then **Freedom** received this Stirnerite influence partly through the Glasgow propagandists and awareness that has been spreading among educated people during the 20th century. The Editors and all who are familiar with the present journal **Freedom** would rightly repudiate a suggestion that it is a Stirnerite journal, yet one has but to compare it with its predecessor 50 years ago or much of the anarchist literature published then in Britain, to see how far it has progressed along the road of conscious egoism. Ideas are seminal; we get our concepts from many sources, and we are not always sure just where we get concepts from when we use these concepts to explain the results of our own experience. In anarchist circles today I hear Stirnerite concepts being freely used as tools to understanding by people who have probably never read the writing of Stirner. Such concepts of conscious egoism as an essential part of anarchism were firmly rejected by most of the anarchist comrades of an older generation, yet they are the practical concepts which have given new life to the movement in the past 15 years.

Before I go further I must explain what Stirner did not say, for he is better known for what he did not say than for what he did say. Many people conceive of Stirner as a philosopher who urged people to be egoistic, to conquer their own impulses to generosity and to cultivate a steely selfishness. I am sure that if you skim through **The Ego and His Own** you can find texts in plenty to substantiate this superficial view. Yet why indeed should anyone who aspired to a predatory selfishness seek to convert others to his own way of thinking? —would he not rather have them meek as lambs in order that he might the better gratify his wolf-like lust for exploitation? Stirner is in fact credited with much that properly belongs to Nietzche. It was Nietzche not Stirner who worshipped the historical figure of Napoleon, who saw the only desirable society in terms of a masterful aristocracy lording it over an exploited mass who should accept their lot with resignation. The sight of a tyrant was abominable and ridiculous to Stirner, for he knew that a tyrant could only exist by virtue of the fact that thousands of individuals gave up their power and their interesting uniqueness to inflate the ego of the tyrant. If Stirner's ideas became widespread, there would be no room for tyrants on the earth.

Stirner did not urge people to be egoistic — he took it entirely for granted that everyone in the whole world was egoistic and needed no urging from him in that direction. He is generally regarded as being an advocate simply of egoism, but that is to underrate him; that is not what the book is about. Why write a book urging people to be what they are already? What he is concerned with is the problem of **consciousness,** and when he writes of egoism, unless he uses it in qualified sense, he means conscious egoism. In the following passage he demonstrates the difference between egoism that is conscious and that which is unconscious:

> "Just recognise what you really are, and let go your hypocritical endeavours, your foolish mania to be something else than you are. Hypocritical I call them because you have yet remained egoists all these thousands of years, but sleeping self-deceiving, crazy egoists... Even religion is founded on our egoism and exploits it; calculated for our **desires,** it stifles many others for the sake of one. This then gives the phenomenon of cheated egoism, where I satisfy not myself but one of my desires e.g. the impulse towards blessedness. Religion promises me the "supreme good", to gain this I no longer regard any other of my desires, and do not slake them. All your doings are **unconfessed,** secret, covert and concealed agoism. But because they are egoism that you are unwilling to confess to your-

selves, that you keep secret from yourselves, hence not manifest and public egoism, consequently unconscious egoism — consequently they are not egoism but thraldom, service, self-renunciation; you are egoists and you are not, since you renounce egoism. Where you seem most to be such, you have drawn upon the word egoist, loathing and contempt."

The reasoning in the passage I have just quoted is repeated in different forms throughout the book. For Stirner everyone is unique, everyone is egoistic, but he becomes an interesting individual, a fulfilled individual only when he realizes the nature of his own egoism. It is impossible to discuss Stirner in the mid-20th century without realizing the fact that he was a forerunner of Siegmund Freud and the whole psychoanalytic school. Now the psychoanalytic school see man's mind as being like an iceberg floating in the sea; by far the greater part of it is submerged and invisible and only a small part of it is visible above the water. The movement and general behaviour of the iceberg is due to the shape and size of the huge submerged bulk, yet all we see is a little part of it sticking up among the waves. In this analogy our consciousness is represented by the fraction of iceberg which is visible, yet the greater part of our psychic and emotional life is submerged like the bulk of the iceberg and directs our destiny in spite of the efforts of our conscious mind. All our civilization, all our difference from the lower animals is related to the degree of our consciousness. In the young child and the most primitive savage the area of consciousness is very small; maturation both in the individual and in the history of culture, enlarges the area of consciousness. The happiness of the individual is not directly related to the degree of his consciousness, for the young child or the savage can certainly be happier than some intellectually advanced adults; happiness is related to the harmony which should exist between the conscious and the unconscious parts of the mind. As Stirner has pointed out, if the conscious mind sets up ideals which deny the basic egoistic drives of the personality then the individual will suffer from frustrated egoism and his egoism will turn to thralldom and self-renunciation, and by what Freud later called **reaction formation** the individual turns on his own dearest desires with loathing and contempt. A state of blissful unconsciousness of self is possible in a primitive animal existence, but once mankind started to create, to complicate his life with cultural achievement, he set himself problems which concern us all only too acutely today.

The problems of political organization; the relations between the individual and the community have concerned the greatest intellects of all ages. We could discuss how the Greek philosophers met these problems, or how they were dealt with by the Christian church; but it is more to the point to consider how they concern us here and now in Britain and here and now in our own individual lives. To talk of the problems inherent in our British tradition while discussing Stirner who was a German may seem a little odd, yet Stirner was part of that European current of thought which specially centres upon Britain. I refer to Utilitarianism; that practical philosophy which arose out of the final overthrow of the deudal way of life and the genesis of modern European man. That utilitarianism first arose in this corner of Europe rather than any other is due to historical circumstances too complex to discuss here; but the fact that social political and technological changes took place in Britain and after the same pattern meant that Utilitarianism was introduced to Germany by Stirner in an extreme and sophisticated form, which had little in common with the watered-down Utilitarianism of his contemporary J. S. Mill. It was Max Stirner incidentally who translated Adam Smith's **Wealth of All Nations** into German. I do not suggest that the Germans had never heard of Utilitarianism before Stirner; Hegel of course had attacked it — but it was more appropriate to the German scene of the 1840's than earlier on.

The utilitarians, Hume, Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthos, Recardo, John Mill, J. S. Mill, were all more or less committed to a tacit acknowledgment of the validity of egoistic hedonism; they were convinced that that was what really made man tick, but they were too conscious of their debt to the disreputable philosophy of Thomas Hobbes to be quite frank the whole time about this basic assumption. The two

Utilitarians who are exceptions to this are William Godwin and Max Stirner, both anarchists. Godwin certainly repudiated egoistic hedonism and the utilitarian basis of his anarchism should be too well known here to need further exposition. Stirner on the other hand openly embraced egoistic hedonism, and he does not shrink from the full implications of it as put forward in Thomas Hobbes' **Leviathan.**

Stated very briefly: Thomas Hobbes' thesis is that since man is entirely egoistic, there must have been in the distant past a condition of anarchy which was most uncomfortable for all, because the egoism of each man would have resulted in a constant war of each against all, and in this condition of natural anarchy the life of man was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". In order to put an end to this uncomfortable state, each man agreed to give in his egoistic sovereignty, his power, to an all-powerful sovereign who enforced law and order so that a peaceful society could be formed. Hobbes used this argument to justify the case for an all-powerful sovereign who would stand for no democratic nonsence from his subjects. He represented the choice as being between utter despotism and an anarchy of violence. His book **Leviathan** is a quite remarkable piece of work; it is free from all religious cant and mysticism, and argues the case for unbridled despotism with brutal logic.

Max Stirner is the only writer who accepts the premises of unequivocal egoistic hedonism and comes to conclusions exactly contrary to those of Thomas Hobbes. Stirner argues in favour of the destruction of **Leviathan** and the establishment of complete anarchy; he does not fear that life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" in such conditions. For Stirner, any man who gives up his individual power to a sovereign, be it an individual despot or a democratic government, is a complete fool. Now that we do know something of the life of primitive man in a state of anarchy, thanks to the researches of anthropologists, we must admit that Thomas Hobbes was wrong in his conjectures. But knowing that Thomas Hobbes was wrong in his pseudo-historical conjectures does not necessarily mean that Stirner is right in a contrary sense. Stirner does not write of a future society, he is not concerned with blueprints for social organisation; he is concerned exclusively with the individual, and whatever forms of social organisation may be thrown up by the interaction of individuals are not a matter of direct concern to him.

It must be pointed out here that Stirner makes no direct reference to the **Leviathan** or Thomas Hobbes in his book. This is rather odd as he shows detailed knowledge of the British political and philosophical writers, and can hardly have been unaware of the chief influence of David Hume.

The Ego and His Own is not to be compared to other philosophical treatises. The construction of the book is haphazard and the style most uneven. Stirner often leads us up by-paths largely for the sake of indulging in mockery of philosophies and philosophers. One cannot help suspecting a malicious enjoyment in his own talent for exposing the weaknesses and humbug in the religious and ethical systems of his contemporaries, and in their social, sexual, political and economic moralities. Yet in spite of all Stirner's seemingly irresponsible jeering and his methods of guerilla attack in argument, a powerful logic is maintained throughout the book. He has no real protest about what people say or do, he is solely concerned with the analysis of the reasons which people have for talk or action. In this he is closest to Machiavelli of all writers, who wrote not of how men ought to act but how men do act in practice. If one can get over the shock of having oneself torn to pieces and mercilessly analysed, Stirner is a powerful means to clear thinking. He undoubtedly had a profound influence on Karl Marx, who, although he bitterly attacked Stirner, developed the more practical side of his social theories under the lash of Stirner's criticism of Hegel, Hess, Bauer, Feuerback and the other writers who formed the intellectual climate of the time. In a private letter to Marx, Engels admitted perhaps more than he would have cared to in public.

> "But what is true in his (Stirner's) principle, we, too must accept. And what is true is that before we can be active in any cause we must make it our own egoistic cause – and in this sense, quite aside from any material expectations, we are communists by virtue of our egoism, that out of egoism we want to be human beings and not merely individuals."

Applying Stirner's ideas nearer home, we see what he has to offer to anarchists. We are anarchists because of our egoism – what does that mean? We wish for freedom, the free society; but what is the meaning of this freedom? Stirner takes it a stage further.

> "Free – from what? Oh what is there that cannot be shaken off? The yoke of serfdom, of sovereignty, of aristocracy and princes, the dominion of desires and passions, yes, even the dominion of one's own will, of self-will, for the completest self-denial is nothing but freedom – freedom, to wit from self-determination, from one's own self. And the craving for freedom is for something absolute, worthy of every praise, deprives us of own-ness; it created self-denial. However, the freer I become the more compulsion piles up before my eyes, and the more important I feel myself. The unfree son of the wilderness does not yet feel anything of all the limits that crowd a civilized man . . .
>
> "Being free from anything means only being clear or rid. 'He is free from headache' is equal to 'he is rid of it'. 'He is free from this prejudice' means 'he never conceived it', or 'he has got rid of it' . . . What a difference between freedom and own-ness! One can get rid of a great number of things, one yet does not get rid of all; one becomes free from much, not from everything. Inwardly one may be free in spite of the conditions of slavery, although too it is again only from certain things not from everything; but from the ship and the domineering temper of the master one does not as a slave become free. 'Freedom lives only in the realm of dreams.' Own-ness on the contrary, is my whole being and existence; it is I myself. I am free from what I am rid of, owner of what I have in my power or what I control; **My Own.** I am at times and under all circumstances if I know how to have myself and do not throw myself away on others. To be free is something that I cannot truly will, because I cannot truly make it, cannot create it; I can only wish it and aspire towards it, for it remains an ideal, a spook.

Stirner goes on from here to analyse the fact that when we say we want freedom we do in fact want something that is more concrete than freedom and something that is not unattainable – namely the consciousness of our own selves as the ultimate desired end to be fulfilled. This has been endlessly misinterpreted as meaning that Stirner denied the importance of society and the social nature of human beings. But this conclusion is not implicit in his argument. Talking of the Christian concept of God as the Supreme Egoist, he writes:

> "How one acts only for himself, and asks after nothing further, the Christians have realized in the notion of 'God'. He acts 'as it pleases him' and foolish man who could do just so, is to act 'as it pleases God' instead. If it is said that even God proceeds according to eternal laws, that too fits me, since I too cannot get out of my skin, but have my law in my whole nature, i.e. in myself."

"I have my law in my own nature", the conscious egoist is under no delusion of freedom or lawlessness then; as he finds his law in his own nature so he acts. If he is moved to co-operativeness, kindness, sociability just so he will try to act, just as much as if he is moved to aggression, hate or solitariness. This is the kernel of the whole utilitarian argument; we will serve our interests best by creating social forms which serve the law of our human nature, and not try to modify the laws of our human nature to serve pre-existent social forms. The whole problem then is one of consciousness – what do we really want? Are we to serve the law of God, the law of

the State, the law of Man (with a capital M), or the law of our own nature?

Here Stirner tackles another problem which has sometimes beset anarchists. His contemporary Feuerbach had attacked religion and the whole idea of representing our purpose on earth as being the service of God; but, as Stirner pointed out, Feuerbach had simply replaced an ideal construct of God with an ideal construct of Man – Man with a capital M. Stirner sought to show how the service of Man could be just as onerous as the service of God and that the individual person gains nothing from the exchange. We know to our cost just what is justified in the service of Man: war, political repression, the prostitution of science, the destruction of objective truth — all this is justified as being in the interests of something greater than ourselves: the ideal of Man. The communists see Man as represented by the ideal proletariat, the Nazis saw Man as the blond Aryan, in Britain he is often seen as an ideal Decent Chap famous for his tolerance, his sense of fair play and his unquestioned right to set the moral tone for the whole world to follow. Anything is worthwhile to preserve the essential character of Man — his proletarian purity or his Aryan purity or his essential Christian Decency. The lives of millions of little egoists, each one pursuing his own selfish little ends, can be ruthlessly sacrificed for the greater glory of this idol Man, hence we have religious and political creeds of self-renunciation, we have conscription, we have weapons of mass destruction.

I have already pointed out that the contemporary journal **Freedom** (1955) has been much influenced by Stirnerite ideas: the mildness of the editorial opposition to egoist ideas, as expressed in the recent controversy over tax-dodgings, would make Kropotkin and Tom Keel turn in their graves. But there is a great deal of anarchist literature which makes an idol out of Man — I believe there is even a journal of that name. But we have progressed. We still have the muddled idea current in the movement that there is somehow an irreconcilable antipathy between being an anarchist and pursuing one's individual interests.

Is **The Ego and His Own** a philosophical treatise? I do not know, nor do I think its author cared how his readers regarded it. Stirner was originally one of the young Hegelians, deeply learned in all philosophy and whose passion in life was discussion and polemic among themselves. Stirner then brought out this bombshell of a book which utterly bewildered and outraged the other young Hegelians. His attitude to philosophy is perhaps represented by a verse of Omar Khayyam:

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent Doctor and Saint and heard
great argument
About it and about but evermore
Came out by the same door as in I went.
With them the seed of wisdom did I sow
And with my own hand laboured it to grow.
And this was all the harvest that I reap'd.
I came like water and like wind I go."

The Ego and His Own begins with a line from the poet Goethe "Ich Hab' Mein' sach' auf neichts gestellt", and after all its argument, after all its meanderings, after all its intricate analysis, it ends with precisely the same line "Ich hab' mein' sach' aufs neichts gestellt". That line is hard to translate; it can only be understood in the light of Goethe's poem. Goethe describes how he had become possessed, he was the possessor. Stirner's ideals had used him, eaten him up one after another. In the end Goethe's philosophy was one of detachment, and likewise with Stirner, he was no longer the possessed, he was the possessor. Stirner's concept of self-ownership, self-possession is interesting because it is dynamic, it takes into account the fact that we are transitory phenomena — all our striving ends in death and the dissolution of our uniqueness.

"If I concern myself for myself, the unique one, then my concern rests upon its transitory, mortal creator, who consumes himself, and I may say — Ich hab' mein' sach' auf neichts gestellt". Literally one may translate the line "I have set my being on nothing".

—G From **Freedom**, 1955

The Origins of Chinese Anarchism

This article was first published by Coptic Press, London 1968, reprinted by Simian — Son of Coptic Press, 1969/71, and by Chicago "Solidarity" 1971. However, it has had little circulation in Australia.

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Albert Meltzer has been active in the British Anarchist Movement since the forties. With Stuart Christie he helped form the present day Anarchist Black Cross (publishes monthly "Black Flag") which sends aid to and publicizes the treatment of Anarchist political prisoners, especially in Spain. Militants of the Anarchist Black Cross in the last two years have been murdered by police in Germany and Italy. In Britain Stuart Christie spent 18 months imprisoned awaiting trial over the Angry Brigade (charges dismissed). Meltzer and Christie have written "Floodgates of Anarchy" (Sphere paperback) dealing with revolutionary workers' councils, and helped edit "Franco's Prisoner" by Miguel Garcia, an anarchist militant who spent 20 years in Spanish prisons for guerilla activities against Franco.

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A very different view of Mao's Ching is put forward by Steve Halbrook in "Libertarian Analysis" (1971, No. 2). Briefly, Halbrook (using the thoughts of Mao Tse-Tung) sees Mao as a secret Bakuninist trying to build anti-bureaucracy into the revolution from above. There is also good material on Chinese Anarchism and its effect on Chinese Federalism in Gray's "Modern China's Search for a Political Form". We hope to have an article on contemporary China and Libertarian Socialism in the next "Red and Black".

It was in the early years of this century that the anarchist movement was introduced into Celestial Empire. It is true that classical Chinese thinking (Lao Tzu) contains the elements of anarchism, though the modern Chinese anarchists deride this (there are some, they state, who find every single conception somewhere or other in the Chinese classics). But in its modern form, anarchism came to China during the period of turmoil when the nation was turning against the Imperial dynasty (an alien race superimposed in China).

As in other countries where anarchists introduced the socialist movement, and preceded other forms of socialistic thinking, the anarchist movement became large; but at the same time included many who, in other circumstances, might conceivably not have been anarchists at all. It is important to recognise this fact, as many otherwise are thought of as 'backsliders' who merely, in fact, move to their natural idealogical 'home'. Edgar Snow in his conversation with Mao Tse Tung states that Mao himself was once influenced by the anarchists; but my information is that "he was, at most, a member of the Temperance Movement". This, however, is not quite so absurd as it sounds in English ears. Teetotalism was as identified with revolutionary opinions in China as it is in Great Britain with Liberalism and religious noncomformity.

The real founders of Chinese anarchism were LI SHIH-TSENG and CHANG-CHING-CHIANG. Li and Chang had both come from wealthy families, and had gone to Paris with a government mission that contained a large number of students. The idea was that they should study Western ideas and apply them to business. From the first moment they arrived in Paris, in 1902, Li and Chang became interested in the G.G.T., then at best as the anarcho-syndicalist organisation. It was what Emma Goldman called "the university of anarchism" at the time. A living example of labour organisation at its best, where the workers could study to take control of their destinies, the G.G.T. fascinated Li and Chang, who had not heard of such a thing as trade union before. They had been introduced to anarchism at its most constructive and dynamic, and immediately abandoned the mission for the libertarian cause.

Another Chinese, a biologist, Wu Chih-Hui, had also come to Paris to study chemistry. He began experimenting on bean curds and products, and also became interested in anarchism. When in 1906, Li, Chang and Wu, working together in their concern, purchased a printing press, Wu Chih-Hui joined them. They founded a weekly, the **New Century**, which reached right around the world. It was the first anarchist paper in Chinese. By this time there were several other 'patriotic' Chinese papers, i.e. anti-imperialist, in that they opposed Manchu dynasty. Some of these turned to socialism, though parliamentary socialism never caught on in China – partly because there never was the opportunity for it. The Paris anarchists, who became a major force within the Chinese revolutionary movement, united with others in a Society for the Study of Socialism. The upsurge of "Young China" brought socialistic propaganda, including anarchism, into prominence.

So great was the influence of anarchism among the young Chinese scholars of the pre-revolutionary period and subsequently until 1914, that the government often found difficulty in finding suitably educated persons for government posts. The Chinese anarchists, however, reckoned from the beginning on "two anarchisms" "hard" and "soft". The "hard" anarchist – or as we should say, militant – was recognised to be a fighter who would certainly in no circumstances take part in government. But as there was no conception of what we call "local government" on the English model – which has nothing whatever to do with ruling – the scholar could never become a militant (unless he could teach privately, earn a living in journalism, or as was more often the case, start his own business). To be a teacher, or a librarian or a clerk, one had to accept government favours, rely on canvassing high officials, kowtow (literally) to a mandarin, and help to keep the order of the State just as much as if one were a policeman. (Ultimately the scholars began to rebel against this.) But since this existed, the revolutionists accepted that a scholar might be "soft" – i.e. he might (in our terms) "sell out" yet not be regarded as a traitor. The plight of the scholar was understood. Just as the worker had to work for bread, so –

it was felt — the poor scholar might have to "join government" and sell out. Provided he did not become an informer, he might still retain the affections of his comrades, as we shall see later.

To Li and Ch'u there were five means of Revolution:

Books and speeches "to move people" and to spread education.

Meetings and gatherings "by which the people's power is brought together" and they are able to realise their strength.

Resistance to taxation, which weakens the State.

Opposition to conscription, and strikes, which are curiously linked together, the suggestion being that the soldier should withdraw his service and the worker withdraw his labour.

Assassination and mass uprisings — it was considered that assassination would mitigate tyrany and ultimately make it less worthwhile. But only mass uprising would alter the system.

Gradually, the slow progress of industrialisation of China made it plain that there would never be a "Chinese G.G.T." at least within the life time of the persons concerned. Li studied the tong system very carefully. In many of the tongs, a guild system exists similar to Freemasonry as it no doubt was originally — when the Masons really were "masons" and kept their secrets, which included their trade secrets. The tongs were powerful; amongst the secret society the anarchist movement began to work. It was as a result in their work in the tongs that the anarchists came into contact with Sun Yat Sen, and a section of the New Century Movement entered into Kuo Ming Tang. The relationship between a section of the anarchist movement and the K.M.T. hereafter became always ambivalent. Some of those who entered did so to denounce San, and to cause a schism. Others went in and worked with him; to the extent that, after the Revolution, they accepted parliamentary positions and renounced their anarchism. Of the latter, some were merely "soft" anarchists, who, in their old age, wanted the chance to work at their chosen profession after years of wandering and fighting; others, indeed, felt that the "main objective" had been achieved. Both Wu and Li became members of the Kuo Ming Tang, and there are contradictory reports of their later activity.

Anarchism was also introduced into China, quite separately, by way of Japan. The first well-known Chinese scholar to go to Japan to study and to come under the influence of the anarchist movement was Liu Shih-pei. To this day the writings of Liu Shih-pei are treasured by Chinese anarchists. Liu, unlike many of his contemporaries, venerated Chinese tradition which he claimed was libertarian, and stated that in China, Taoism and the writings of Lao Tze had prepared the way for libertarianism. Traditional Chinese government was indifferent to the people; the people were indifferent to it. The mark of the Taoist scholar was to scorn government. The government regarded the people as plants or animals; the people regarded the government as repulsive and evil. Hence there was no difficulty in realising anarchism, and China, by virtue of its unique background, should be the first to do so, for "indifference" to government could be turned into a victory for anarchism. Other writings of Liu go on to stress the "Chinese" nature of anarchism.

Many of the students in Tokyo and elsewhere returned to their native China to take part in anti-Manchu and anarchist movements. They became a base of a movement which ultimately fused with that introduced by the Paris group.

The movement that had been created both by the **New Century** and by Liu, had undergone severe repressions and persecutions. It ultimately fused into a new anarchist movement, the credit which must go to Liu Sau-fu (known as Shih-fu). For the first time, the movement ceased to be an emigre'-supported movement, though it still relied on workers going abroad to study and coming back with technical skills and revolutionary experience.

Shih-fu edited a journal in Hong Kong. In 1907 he had taken part in an attempted uprising in Kwangtung. Shih-fu had been chosen to spark off the revolt by an assassination of the naval commander, Li Chum. Unfortunately, his knowledge

of chemistry was rudimentary and he allowed the bomb to explode in his hand. He lost his fingers of one hand. Sentenced for terrorism to thirty years' imprisonment, he won the admiration of his warders by his scholarship and was released, so great was the veneration in which letters were held in China. He was released in 1909 and for the next six years was the great inspiration of the Chinese anarchist movement. He initiated the famous Ping Ming Press. After an attempt to assassinate the Prince Regent, he went to live in Shanghai. He was the first to find that Shanghai afforded the perfect centre for subversive activity in China. The Chinese government had no authority within the International Settlement, and Europeans could not tell one Chinese from another — they were all sub-humans so far as they were concerned. Nor could the Settlement police ever read the press. Their Chinese subordinates might be able to, but they never chose to intervene. It was not a healthy pasttime.

Most of the **New Century** articles were reprinted, but also articles and pamphlets from all over the world. Over seventy books were published, not including translations, in six years!

When Sun Yat Sen assumed power, Shih-fu began his well-known publication **Cock Crying in the Darkness** (later known as the **Voice of the People**) — which later pioneered the first industrial societies, embryonic trade unions. He protested at the acceptance of office under the Kuo Ming Tang by many of the old guard, some of whom still protested that they had not betrayed their anarchist ideas. The Communist Party had appeared in China, and its undoubtedly revolutionary drive and organisational ability pointed with derision at the fact that some anarchists were going into the Kuo Ming Tang though this was still a liberal regime and had not yet corrupted as it later did; but the **Cock** did not attempt to excuse them or gloss over the problem.

"If anyone ever imagined that anarchists would give you freedom, would solve your problems, would lead you to the promised land, he never understood anarchism," it crowed. "There are no supreme saviours, no leaders, not even anarchists, no, not the gods themselves, and if you imagined that the gods or the anarchists were not men with all their imperfections you grossly deceived yourselves. Would I have taken office? No. I hope not. But then I hope I would not have yielded to the torture, like comrade X, nor to the plaintive cries of my hungry babies, like comrade Y. What concerns me is: how shall we go on fighting?

The first task of the **Cock** was to organize industrially; and a new anarchist movement began in the few industrial cities that existed in China. They began to form tongs and even Western type unions. Between 1919 and 1923, strikes took place which showed the growing power of industrial workers in general, and transport workers in particular. In 1920, the anarchist movement was established in Canton (which Pu Chin called "the Barcelona of the East"), following the textile workers strike in Changsha. This has remained ever since a stronghold of anarchism. During 1965 and 1966 the workers went on strike in the self-same places, this time against Communist Party control, and held the factories without management or control from above. The seeds were sown in 1920. The re-introduction of Party management in 1967 has not been a happy one, and the struggle goes on.

Next, Shih Fu founded the Society for Frugal Study in France. One of the continued attractions of France was the total absence of religious instruction in the schools. At this time, the revolutionary movement found itself fighting not only traditional religion, but also the missionaries. The temperance societies, the old strongholds of the left, proved happy hunting grounds for the Christian missionaries. Moreover, on the material plane, the adoption of Christianity meant the possibility of a career even for the scholar, unhampered by governmental decrees or by mandarins. The "foreign devils" brought trade to China, and gave preference in business administration to the Christians. It was not entirely the virtues of the New Testament that caused so many to turn Christian in those years . . . the "rice Christian" was on a higher level, too, much of course as Church with us once meant employment.

Once more students were going across to France. This time they tried to found

their own university, in Lyons. The so-called "work study movement" proved an enormous success. It was reinforced by the fact that ultimately the French Government itself sent for Chinese labour, during the European war, to supplement its manpower at a cheap cost. Amongst the Chinese coming to France were hundreds of work-study socialists and anarchists. They had their differences with the French authorities, and during an attempt to take over their university (for which they had paid) hundreds of them were arrested by the police, taken to Marseilles, and forcibly deported. Amongst the students concerned were dozens who are now Communist officials. One of them was Ch'En Tu-Hsin (now a Communist official in South China) who on his return entered into a public debate with Ou Sheng-pai, one of the **Cock** group, which became a literary duel.

The extended debate in their various papers was made into a book, which has been preserved. It is hoped that, as a result of this essay, some Chinese scholar will translate it into English. The only reason this has not been done before is the overwhelming vanity of Mao Tse-Tung, who has insisted on his writings being published over and over again, and has forgotten that there were other Marxists than himself. There are few good critical attacks on anarchism.

Among the students now coming into the anarchist movement, during the heyday of its mass appeal in the 'twenties', was Li Fei-kan, who was the son of a wealthy family, who abandoned it for the anarchist movement. He adopted the name "Pa Chin" — or in English, "Ba Kin" (Bakunin — Kropotkin), and became a radical journalist. He wrote extensively for the anarchist movement, and translated the entire works of Malatesta, much of Bakunin, many works of Kropotkin as had not already been published, as well as numerous other works. Later, he went to Paris to study, and later to London. He met Tom Keell, Alexander Berkman, Max Nettlau, and corresponded over a long period with Emma Goldman (of whom he wrote a "Life" in Chinese).

Ba-Kin, or properly Pa Chin (by which name he is famous throughout China to this day) became a novelist. His life and works have recently been dealt with by Prof. Olga Lang, in a magnificent survey and introduction to his novels. She gives episode after episode from them. Her impartiality is the more remarkable in that she was born in Russia, and her family apparently suffered or were incommoded by the Makhnovistas.) Pa Chin's novels are far from impartial. He takes character after character from the anarchist movement. Yet he retained the affection of young readers throughout China, under the Kuo Ming Tang and under the Communists. His heroes and heroines are all anarchists, and if the novel sometimes does not make it explicitly so, one may depend on it that they have a picture of Bakunin on the walls or refer to one of the figures from the anarchist movement. Time and again he was criticised by other writers for his attachment to the anarchist movement, or for his pessimism as to the future of China (under the K.M.T. and the C.P.).

Although Liu (Shih-fu) died in 1915 at an early age (of TB), the journal he had established in Shanghai, and the organisation (the Heart Society, Hsin-she) continued to flourish during the 'twenties. The student movement that was established by Shanghai anarchists in Chengtu spread rapidly. It clashed with the army on several occasions (the incidents forming an impression on Pa Chin, who incorporated them into his novels). But as a result of the extended student agitation, the Young Communist movement came into existence. In response, the anarchists established the Chun-She (Equitable Society) which began to publish **Ping Ming Chih Sheng (The Voice of the People)**. This was the origin of the Ping Ming Press, so well known in international anarchist circles; it was devoted to the memory of Shih-fu.

Meanwhile the revolutionary movement whether K.M.T., Communist or Anarchist, grew all over China. 1925/27 is called "The Great Revolution" — when the K.M.T. ultimately took power. n 1925 there was a great strike in Shanghai, which heralded strikes and violence throughout China. A "United Committee of Labour, Students and Merchants" was set up, which called for a general strike in Shanghai (under foreign domination) and which was echoed by demonstrations and strikes all over China.

At this moment a great strike enveloped Shanghai, the main reason being economic, but one which also had a social-political tinge. The previous strikes had been supported by Chinese financiers and capitalists opposed to their business rivals in Shanghai. Now the workers turned on the Chinese capitalists too. In large parts of Shanghai, they were able to seize control of their factories. The anarchist movement proclaimed the "Shanghai Commune". They endeavoured to seize the city and make it a Free City, independent of the foreign settlement and of the Chinese government. It was the last major battle of the anarchist movement organised as such. It proclaimed to China that it would establish the free society in Shanghai or go down fighting before the whole country. The united forces both of the Kuo Ming Tang and the foreign powers, (whom it was supposed to be opposing), helped to crush the Shanghai Commune. It went down fighting.

The years that followed were difficult ones for the anarchists. They had to choose between Chiang and the Red Army. But it was no mere academic choice (such as the armchair leftist faces in England when he says, perhaps, he will give "conditional" support to Ho Chi Minh). They had to choose in which territory to live. Some of the old guard had gone into the Kuo Ming Tang, some no doubt went to the Communists. But the many who remained anarchists had to decide in which territory they would live. There were some who said that at least in the K.M.T. one could hold meetings. This was at all times a risky business. Did it compensate for the corruption? Ultimately there grew up a disunited, un-federated movement, separated by the vastness of the country and the lack of postal communications or a free press, which used the International Settlement of Shanghai as its "post box" and headquarters.

Yet when Pa Chin returned from Europe to Shanghai in 1929, he was able to begin publishing immediately (the first work being **From Capitalism to Anarchism**). And the files of **Freedom** regularly display news from China; the workers of Canton in particular remaining anarchists. There was a general exodus of students from the anarchist ranks. No longer did large numbers of young middle-class students come to anarchism. They went to nationalism or communism (or Christianity). But the output of literary work by Pa Chin meant a great deal to the anarchist movement. From the excerpts in his novels given by Prof. Lang, one can tell that the anarchist movement must have remained active during the later twenties and early thirties. It was not until 1935 that the major blow fell upon China and any libertarian hopes she might have.

This was the invasion by Japanese Imperialists. The anarchists had always been urging friendly relations with the Japanese workers and peasants – although of course they bitterly opposed the Mikado's regime. Now they were denounced as pro-Japanese. (In Japan the anarchists were arrested and imprisoned as pro-Chinese, i.e. anti-war.) Disaster fell upon China as the Japanese rolled across the country. The Communists were the first to take up the challenge, for Moscow's line was then anti-Fascist and Popular Front, and calling for the unity of all classes and peoples to resist the Fascist powers (Japan, Germany and Italy) that threatened the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Communists by kidnapping Chiang himself, forced the line of unity upon him, and established the Popular Front by force. (The Central Committee welcomed "petty bourgeoisie, revolutionary intellectuals, and even certain sections of the national capitalists and war lords" as well as workers and peasants, in 1935. And by 1936 had extended this to Chiang Kai Shek and the Kuo Ming Tang.)

It is impossible to state what the reaction of the anarchist movement was. According to Prof. Lang, Pa Chin identified himself with the fight against the invaders. But my information contradicts this. He was most certainly attacked by Communist writers for not joining the League of Left Wing Writers, and when they extended this body to the Chinese Writers Association, which all Chinese patriotic Writers were expected to join, and he still refused to enter it, Hsu Mou-yung denounced him in such strong terms as to be indicative that they would like him arrested. Denounced as a wrecker (those were the days of the "Trotsky fascist wreckers" in Moscow mythology),

all that saved Pa Chin was the vigorous defence of his freedom to join or not to join by the veteran and venerated writer Lu Hsun.

One main reason why Pa Chin would not denounce his opinions at this time was his enthusiasm for the fact of the Spanish Revolution. At last, it seemed the anarchist cause was about to be won. He was abused and denounced by the Communists for not joining in the paean of praise for "the Republic". "I had to tell of the solidarity of Chinese anarchists with the valiant fighters of the C.N.T.–F.A.I." he stated. "In the whole Chinese literary scene I am the only person who dares to speak for these two groups of people."

Meanwhile in Shanghai the anarchists reorganised, once more under the slogan of the **Cock Crying in the Darkness.** Demonstrations were held in support of the Spanish workers. Long discussions took place as to how it was possible for the Chinese anarchists to help. But of course there was no way they could put pressure on General Franco. They were isolated from the struggle. It is interesting to note that a group of 25 Chinese anarchists who left Hong Kong to take part in the Spanish Civil Wars were refused entry at Marseilles, and returned to the East in a boat sailing for Annam. It was a handful of these comrades who established the first Vietnamese Anarchist Group. Its ultimate fate is unknown. The weekly bulletin of the C.N.T.–F.A.I. in Barcelona was regularly reprinted in Chinese from 1936 to 1938.

The "Sons of Shin-fu" began an intensive propaganda campaign on behalf of the Spanish libertarian movement; but, naturally, the amount of direct intervention it could make on the Spanish scene was limited. The example of Spain, however, rallied many around the anarchist banner once again. In 1937, the "Black Flag" Group which was formed in Canton, took the initiative to launch a new Equitable Society or trade union movement and one of its main activists came back from London.

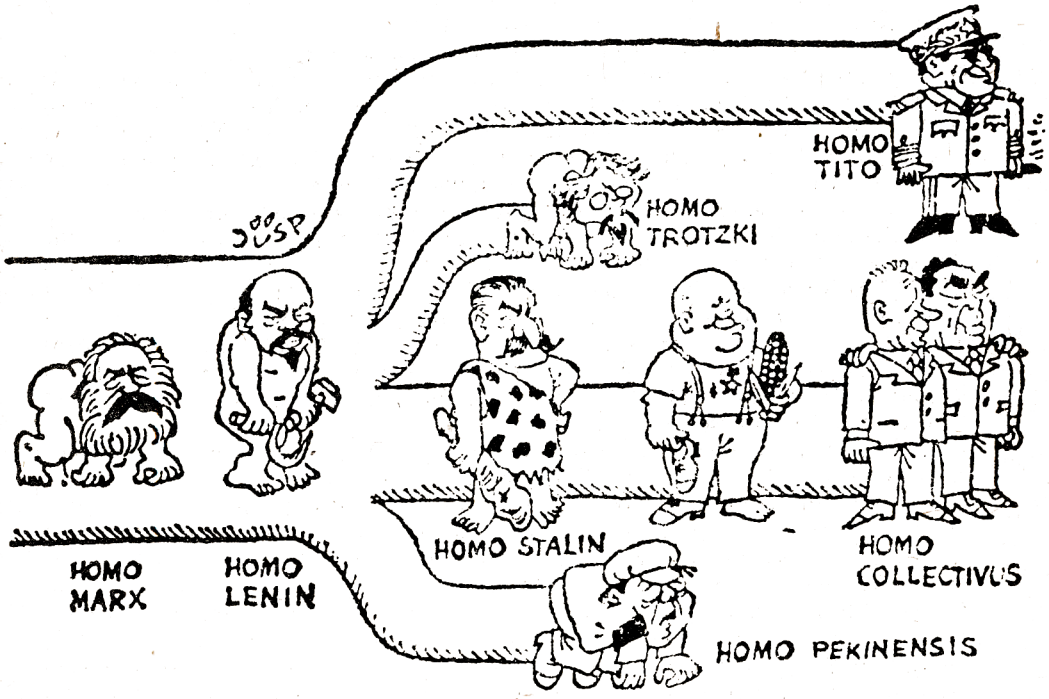
The World War went, of course, unnoticed in China, already engrossed in its own Great Patriotic War, except that now it had acquired, to no immediate benefit, the Democratic West as its Allies. Pa Chin was living in the French Concession of Shanghai until 1940, when he left for Kunming, in the province of Yunnan, which was an important cultural centre for China. There was a refugee colony of all China's intellectuals. There he established the Wen-shua Sheng-huo Publishing House; brought out Kropotkin's **Ethics** for the first time, and published the entire works of Kropotkin. His brother had learned Russian specially for the purpose, and they later brought out Herzen's **Memoirs.**

Ch'en found himself in Japanese-occupied territory, and was later banished to an isolated village, where he practised as a doctor and also learned the ancient Chinese arts of chiropracture and acupuncture. Meanwhile, the most active of the industrial militants began a series of strikes in the textile and transport industries, which for some reason remained steadfastedly anarchistic when other workers were going over to the Communist Party. The seamen began to organise, and (partly due to dissatisfaction with the Communist Party) also gave support to the anarchist movement. When the war ended, the movement came into the open again. It could count on a fair number of groups, it being estimated that there were about 20 middle-class student groupings, and two or three industrial organisations each containing some five or six hundred members. Officially they claimed 10,000 members, including the members of co-operatives, and an uncounted number of sympathisers. But the end of the war did not mean liberation, except in the narrowest national sense. The anarchists resumed their publishing and industrial activities, but it was not long before the next blow fell. Meo Tse Tung and his followers had taken over the country.

The anarchist movement was now not only illegal, it was in conflict with a rival that had always been bitterly jealous of its every success. It was no longer confronted with the Manchu-type government that "looked on the people as plants and animals"; nor even with the Nationalists who "held the headsman's axe in one hand and the keys to office in the other, and invited you to choose". Marxism in China was a bitter, relentless enemy of the anarchist movement. It was not conditioned by unity in industrial battles, as had been the case in some countries. The Marxists and the

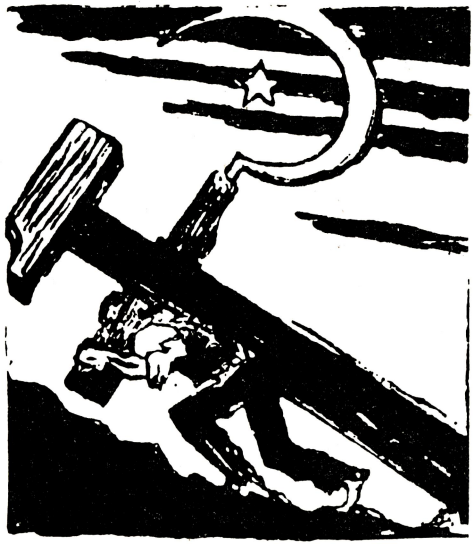
anarchists had never united. The Marxists formed a Popular Front which the anarchists did not join; the anarchists formed unions which Mao himself described as "serpents" nests.

The Anarchist Movement went underground, after a brief period of correspondence with the world in general; and after a show of resistance in Changsha. It may be mentioned that the militant anarchists – although they had prepared for the worst – were not wiped out by the Communist regime. Already, under Chiang, they had experienced the worst of persecutions. Only the toughest survived. The tough remnant that went underground was able to resist any form of oppression. In fact, so far as industrial organisation is concerned, they were able to make greater progress fighting the Maoist regime than they had done under the Nationalists. In theory, workers' control existed in many factories. But it was subjected to nationalisation; in other words, although the workers were supposed to be running the factories, the managerial staff was appointed by the State. The workers were just as oppressed



as before. But there was a clear line on which the demarcation took place. The anarchist industrial militant began to concentrate on ousting the management. In every strike the issue arose: sack the Party officials, sack the management. To raise such slogans has now become a criminal offence under the legal code.

When the students began to rise in defending Mao, their actions cannot be equated with the students of Paris or even Moscow. They came out in favour of the regime, and to re-assert their own privileges; they did not come out as a protest against alienation. In many cases, the elderly – and let us face it – possibly wavering pro-



fessors, were "soft" anarchists, or others who had been in the radical movement of one sort or another. (It may be that they despised the professors for being prepared to support the regime when they really "knew the answers", though the workers did not take this point of view.) The reaction against academic learning began. Professors were publicly humiliated and derided. The 80 year old Professor Hsaio was ordered to draw the dung-cart, as part of his "re-education". In a dignified letter, he stated that at his age there was only one answer to tyranny, and that was suicide. He did not agree with his students that the honourable task of the nightsoil-carrier was degrading. On the contrary, he said, if they wished to degrade the dung-carrier they should appoint him to be their professor. He for his part had carried his load of dung around the lecture halls long enough, and it was time to end his life, appreciating the intention of the Maoists to humiliate him. Even the London "Daily Mail", no friend to the anarchist movement, to put it mildly, carried a tribute to "this Chinese Seneca", as Bernard Levin called the aged libertarian. In some cases the factory workers forcibly intervened to defend some of the old intellectuals against the students. One may mention that the most honourable of the Chinese intellectual anarchists, an old man now, has steadily refused employment as a professor, and lives in complete poverty, "awaiting death" with a handful of his friends; their only means of livelihood being parcels that they regularly receive from factory workers. When their postal service was stopped, lorries regularly came to provide them with the necessities of life.

This however is the fate only of the section of the anarchist movement that come from the scholars. The working-class section has encountered a vastly different experience. For any understanding of modern China, it is necessary to realise that the anarchist movement was confined to the factory workers and other industrial workers, apart from its followers of petty-bourgeois origin. Notwithstanding its veneration for Kropotkin and its apposite teachings for a peasant economy, it made no headway among the peasantry. Only since the Korean War has it become introduced to the peasants; for the anarchist movement was prolific in North and South Korea, influenced both by Chinese and Japanese sources. Now the Koreans are as widely scattered over China as the Irish in Britain. They have introduced anarchist teachings to the peasants, in a movement called "Towards Free Communes", the extent of which can only be guessed. Exaggerated reports have appeared abroad, but Chinese themselves give different accounts of its influence.

The Communist Party, oddly enough, with its Marxian teachings of the importance of the factory worker, only made headway among the peasants. To the anarchists, the communists were "war lords". Ever since the Long March of 1934,

when they displayed heroic qualities (those of the peasantry), the Communist armies gained ground and reputation, but as soldiers, not as industrial workers (as in, say, Germany). There was no unity of anarchists and Marxists even at work; they did not work in the same places except in very rare instances. To the Marxists, the anarchists were mere "agents of capitalism" and "agents-provocateurs" who had usurped their place in the industrial proletariat.

Anarchism was to them "a sign of China's backwardness" and they were bitterly ashamed that they ruled the peasantry (which was in contradiction to all Marx's teachings). To the anarchists, of course, the Marxists were mere war-lords, and the idea of unity with them never crossed their minds. If they had to choose between living under Chiang and under Mao, it never occurred to them that the decision entailed any favourable comment on either side.

Without going into the question of the Maoist split, which belongs to a work on Maoism itself, it may be mentioned that one of the causes of the "Cultural Revolution" was the fact that since Mao, for the first time, Communists entered the ranks of the factory worker to an overwhelming scale, and Marxism became the official doctrine of the industrial proletariat. The anarchists (although their numbers probably did not alter a great deal) became a small minority. The Communist factory worker and the Communist brought up as a soldier had different interests. The former took on many of the attitudes that had formerly been those of the anarchist alone. With the degeneration of the regime, there was an increasing of discipline; but this discipline was on the one hand exerted by the Party machine being built up in the factories and State-run communes; and on the other hand by the Army. Thus fighting could, and frequently has, broken out between what one might call the Party of the Proletariat, the Party of the Peasantry and the Party of the Army, all of which form one Communist Party.

Yet in addition to this there have been clashes with the Party-as-One and the anarchists, and other groups of radicals, the Populists in particular. (The Populists are a coalition of socialistic elements, with some suspicion of pro-Formosa leadership.) Since the regime has been somewhat uncontrolled in its abuse, it is hard at times to know who is doing what. The Maoists are Stalinists and support Stalin's line; they use the term "Trotskyist" to denounce the Moscow-line revisionists or alternatively use the term "revisionist" against Moscow and "Trotskyist" against Tito. Certainly none of their attacks on Trotskyism appear to be directed against what we would think of as Trotskyist, not that this is particularly clear in the West. Often the Army denounces the "Party of the proletariat" as anarchists and sometimes the reverse; which occasionally leads one to suppose that the anarchists are greater than they are. But it is certainly clear that all movements tending to push out managerial control and establish the workers in control without superior authority; and any attempt at decentralised communes are what the Maoists mean by "anarchism" and are part and parcel of the present-day programme of the Chinese anarchist movement as such. The forces with which they can be identified have, in fact, as in other countries, become stronger than they are themselves.

Such, at any rate, are the origins of the Chinese anarchist movement in brief outline. It is already attracting the attention of historians. One brief final mention might be made of Pa Chin. He is still alive (1970) and has long since undergone public "humiliation" and "penance", and has been allowed to go on writing. He no longer writes original works. The task assigned to him is the re-writing of his own books. The anarchist books, written by Pa Chin under that name, are being re-issued. The characters are no longer anarchists; the pictures of Bakunin disappear from the walls; the heroes and heroines become "revolutionists" and are followers of Mao; as a final degradation, the endings have to be re-written. They were too pessimistic. In return for the right to go on living humbly, and to be allowed to have access to writing materials and publishing houses, this is what is expected of Pa Chin. He has undergone public lectures and criticism and had to make public confession, to be allowed this

privilege, and from the point of view of the State Socialist, it no doubt is a privilege. They could (like Hitler) have murdered; or (like their hero Stalin) have killed or deported; but they "rehabilitated" (blessed liberal word!). Such is the fate of many intellectuals.

The militant in many countries will criticise them for having yielded; indeed at a certain point. Professor Hsaio decided that, after all, at his age, it was no longer "useless to jump into the ocean". However, the Chinese militants took a different view. They did not blame the "soft" libertarians. Their fury was directed at the regime. The bitterness and sense of frustration felt when learning of what indignities have been heaped on men like Pa Chin, can be shared by those in London and Paris who have in past years met their fellow anarchists from China, and been inspired by their sense of personal dignity, individual responsibility, and ability to view dispassionately the enormous task of educating so vast a country in its road to freedom.

More recently a great anti-anarchist wave has swept the Chinese press, denouncing the banditry and criminality of all those who contravene the Industrial Laws which carefully define beyond which point worker's control may not encroach. But nevertheless, because of the growing war psychosis and the need for "unity", the Government has sent out feelers towards the anarchist movement and managed to convey the information that it might cease to become illegal, with the interesting formula, "No government can 'legalise' an anarchist movement except to destroy it, but the principle of non-intervention may be applied".

The suggestion is that it may be able to organise as in the West — with much the same restrictions. This had been regarded by anarchist militants as a trap — "the mouse does not come out at the invitation of the cat", but is likely to tempt the labour movement for workers' control, at present including, but not to be confused with, the anarchists proper, to come out into the open.

by Albert Meltzer

APPENDIX I

The following satirical broadsheet on the Chinese Anarchists first appeared in 1938. It was probably written by a Communist, but was widely circulated by the Kuo Min Tang. It had something of the appeal of "A Message for Garcia" (a short story on the Cuban war, subsequently distributed by the Hearst Press and later throughout the world, as an anti-socialist tract). This circulated throughout China. It appealed to Nationalists and Communists alike.

HOW GRAND TO BE AN ANARCHIST!

No, really, my dear friends, how jolly it is to belong to what Mister Pa Chin calls that noble band of self-sacrificing idealists, the Anarchists, no less! The One-Armed Prophet (Shih-fu?) once told us that Anarchism meant utopia, heaven y paradise, and that it would come in China first! Was he not right, my jolly friends the Anarchists? Do we not live in Utopia in China right now?

For you must know that all men are brothers, we love you all, and when we have blown up all whom we disagree with not a soul will be in disharmony, not a dog will foul the streets! But our brothers are not the Communists, not even the Kuo Min Tang, nor yet the Japanese invader. Indeed no! If you are a worker, and an anarchist, you may skimp your work and steal your materials, you may think only of your higher wages. It matters not whether you are under the invader or the patriot, the communist or the K.M.T.! If you are a peasant, hide your livestock and think only of your family. Patriotism? We have abolished it! Communism? It does not exist! If you are a soldier, run away with your guns and your ammunition; it will come in useful when you turn bandit. But we must not say bandit; nothing hurts the anarchist more than to use such a term. Does he rob on the public highway? Yes, but he is an idealist! He robs only the opponents to anarchism; but as anarchism is opposed to all government, he is at liberty to rob the world, and if the foreigner fortunately comes to China, he is another one who may be robbed!

What better than to be an Anarchist? Family duties are wrong; the country is a myth; patriotism is at a discount; you have no loyalty to a revolutionary party. Why, you wealthy merchants who scorn anarchism as mere rhetoric, and whose bellies are stuffed only according to the law, you do not know the half of it! These idealists who have given up all, they do not send their sons to conscription; they do not give up their all for the common cause; they are not restricted by the convention which says that laws are there to be obeyed!

Only one must never punish an Anarchist for breaking the law. Other criminals, yes. But they will make our great protests and may even murder the executioner; and all our intellectuals will not say, "What horrors!" They will sigh and say, "Alas! There is neither liberty nor justice in China!"

APPENDIX II

The Chinese Anarchists have always believed in the use of what is called "terrorism". Accused of inconsistency in that they opposed militarism yet advocated (and practised) assassination, Li Shih-tseng pointed out:

> "Militarism is that by which the strong sacrifice the lives and money of others in order to preserve their own power and that of the state. Thus it is unfair and should be eliminated. Revolutionary assassination, on the other hand, is the sacrifice of the individual to eliminate the enemy of humanity, thereby extending the common rights of the world. These two, militarism and revolutionary assassination, are as different as two things can be."

(This is contained in his famous **Answers** to objections.)

Another objection answered by Li was that moral shame would alter the Imperial regime. Many young Chinese student committed suicide i Japan as a protest, gains

the government (an action similar to that of the Buddhist monks burning themselves to death in recent years). In his article, "On the Uselessness of Jumping into the Ocean", Li takes them to task:

> "If you fellows really see in death the answer to things, why do you not follow in the footsteps of the Russian Terrorist Party by killing one or two of the thieves of mankind as the price of death? Whether one plunges into the sea or is decapitated (the penalty for assassination) both are the same death. But they are different in their impact. Whereas one has no impact and the person concerned dies merely as a courageous man, the other has a great impact, especially on the Chinese official class. For the fear of death is one of the special characteristics of Chinese officials. In sum, in this twentieth century, if there is the possibility of eliminating even one thief of mankind and thereby decreasing a portion of dictatorial power, then the year of the great Chinese revolution will come closer..." (Scalapino & Yu)

APPENDIX III

As a piece of totally irrelevant information, one may mention that the present popularity of "the Chinese" restaurant in Great Britain, and the growing interest in Chinese food, may be traced back to the tea house that was opened in Paris in 1902, as a means of financing anarchist propaganda! Naturally this was reinforced by modern travel making our eating habits more cosmopolitan. The idea that Chinese students should go abroad to learn about modern industry, and finance themselves by working in Chinese catering, came from Chang Ching-Chiang, the Anarchist.

APPENDIX IV

A curious sidelight on Pa Chin's works, not noticed by Professor Lang, was brought to my notice by a friend who visited China in 1948. One of the Chinese writers complained to him of the difficulty in translating many Russian and Polish novels because so many had Jewish characters usually in caricature or denigration, "Fagin" types, but that the Chinese reader had already a preconceived notion of Jews and these stage-Jew types appeared incredible to him. The fault, he said, was Pa Chin's, who had always depicted the heroic, militant and totally non-bourgeois Jew in his writings. I realised after reading Professor Lang that the only Jews Pa Chin met were in Paris, where he met them in the anarchist movement and nowhere else. He knows nothing of religious or commercially minded Jews. Emma Goldman appears in several of his novels; also Berkman, in various guises; and his great hero (in "Dream on the Sea") is Sholom Schwarzbart, a Jewish anarchist who killed the Czarist general Simon Petliura in Paris, in revenge for the Ukrainian massacres of 1919/20. Pa Chin has even invented a Chinese word, Black Beard (Schwarz-bart; Hsia-t'zu-pa-te) to describe "the Jews who were never slaves" instead of a word like, say "non-orthodox".

APPENDIX V

Emma Goldman was the representative in London of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. In the years 1936/39, as their accredited agent in London, she was also in contact with the Chinese Anarchist movement. Pa Chin, of course, was an old friend (who described her as his "spiritual mother"). When the British Anarchists had wanted to send volunteers to Spain, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. advised against it. They did not wish to "depopulate" the anarchist movement abroad, where they had so little support, merely to have a few more hundreds or thousands in addition to their million or so in Spain. The advice given to the Chinese was also not to send volunteers to Spain. The 25 who sailed were not in contact with the Shanghai group. Ultimately I think only one Chinese ever arrived in Spain. He was a chemist and had a key position in industry. When Barcelona fell, he claimed British nationality, and was handed over to the British Navy (as a Hong Kong citizen) and returned. A Bulgarian Anarchist who fought in Spain, and finished in a French prison, found himself in Shanghai (as a result of the war's contortions – deported from one port to the other). Looking (incomprehensibly) at a poster, he saw a familiar face – Buenaventura Durruti! It was advertising a Commemoration of the 19th July meeting. It led him to friendly assistance and a new country, Mexico.

The Wall Poets:

graffiti

To paraphrase Thomas Jefferson, society needs violence for its purification; the republic needs a revolution every twenty years to keep its health. Today's graffitists would no doubt agree with that Jeffersonian contention, but the chances of a revolution being carried, given the contemporary technological weapons that all governments have as their monopoly, are as remote as the probability of a Martian invasion. This realisation pushes the graffiti-scribe – especially the political one – into bizarre, often mad, extremes of self expression. Obscenities become a commonplace of his poetry, for he is aware that the no-no words of the English language will draw the attention of passers-by irresistably to his message. The fascination for the four-letter word is illustratable by this personal observation: a sign was painted around the corner of a building. The side visible to most pedestrians proclaimed -UCK THE DRAFT. It was wonderful to watch how many men and women furtively peeked around the corner to see what the first letter was. Big letdown: it was a "D".

Political considerations aside (for the moment), the pain, frustration, isolation and alienation in which technocracy abounds, are set forth in chalk and paint on every blank wall. There is an almost inexpressible sadness to that graffito, written in yellow, perishable chalk cursive, which simply states, I'M LONELY. And what can you make of a sign like I DON'T LIKE TO WRITE ON WALLS. Is it somebody being funny? Or is it someone (perhaps the same author – the writing is similar) saying that this is his only way of communicating with his fellow beings. That men and women can be so cut off in the midst of the pressing millions surely indicts the coldness of our society. These people don't need the institutionalised sympathy of, say, the Department of Social Services, Lifeline or those stomach-turning goody-goodies in the Salvation Army; all they require is to be in rapport with other people like themselves. But you cannot have such weaknesses in our society or it's up against the wall, Jack and Jean. To return to the point: who writes all those signs with one-word messages – PEACE LOVE BROTHERHOOD EQUALITY? Apart from the faddists who follow everything new, isn't it probable that the men (or women?) who scrawl these words really lack, or have lacked, these very qualities in their own lives? The question is an open one, but I suspect that the answer is yes.

There is no sadness about the political wall-daublings, however, but a rage – a gorge-reacting, vomitting disgust at the way politicians destroy human lives. BURN, BABY, BURN! really means burn! loot! destroy! We want to incinerate this whole way of life you have imposed upon us – and you too, if you get in their road. The American slogans seem to be more violence-oriented than their Australian equivalents, yet I think the author of LYNCH BURY, BURY LYNCH might have done precisely that had he been given the opportunity. The politicians themselves, because of their own heartless and inflammatory statements, ("Run the bastards over!. "I'd put all draft-dodgers in a concentration camp at Alice Springs", "We'll bomb them back to the stone-age.", "We have the nuclear capacity to annihilate your cities four times over." – You can pick your own political quote; almost every word that proceeds from a

politician's mouth, right or left, is memorable for its own degree of subhumanity) seem to deserve no better than assassination. Certainly those who have assisted in the laying-waste of Vietnam warrant death; this would be a minimal penalty under the circumstances (I'm opposed to capital punishment, but when I think of the monstrous acts politicians initiate I become uncertain). I even feel a qualified sympathy for graffiti like NAPALM THE PENTAGON (include Canberra, the Kremlin, Peking, etc. and I'll whole-heartedly agree), TEST YOUR BOMBS IN THE CHAMPS ELYSEES and CONSCRIPT McMAHON (can you picture our glorious leader placing his life on the line for those delightful "democrats" of South Vietnam?). The "weathermen" have come and gone, but it still must chill some Americans to see a wall-daubing reading WEATHERMAN.

Humour also exists among the wall poets, sometimes laconic and sometimes blackly savage. PUT A COP IN YOUR TANK! is rather a softly "commercial" rebuke for pigs (call them what they are) who have maced, shot, bludgeoned and killed college students and radical sympathisers. Even the tongue-in-cheek LT. CALLEY FOR PRESIDENT doesn't sound like such a bad idea when you consider that Nixon's bombing raids on North Vietnam have out-Calleyed Calley a thousandfold. I'M PACK-RAPING DEMOCRACY is the Australian send-up of one of our own politicos quotable gaffs and KEEP THE WAR GOING – IT'S THE ONLY ONE WE'VE GOT is calculated to bring tears of nostalgia to all military-minded returned servicemen. My own favourite, however, was the earthily commonsensical IF YOU WERE BEING RAPED WOULD YOU ASK FOR NEGOTIATIONS OR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWL? This first appeared as a placard, later being adapted to whitewash. And for the quaffers of the amber drug there was DRAUGHT BEER, NOT PEOPLE. Norman Mailer recalled his own soldiering when he remarked that all soldiers would get a good laugh out of THE PENTAGON SUCKS, a sign painted on the military's Holy of Holies during the biggest of the Washington moratorium rallies. But we must all laugh and, according to this graffito, WHATEVER HAPPENS, FUCK REMORSE!

The counterculture too has its own graffiti-expressionists, PEACE, POT, PUSSY being one of their more amiable prescriptions for a happier world. Nevertheless, their argot is frequently incomprehensible to the uninitiated and therefore has not got the universality of most of what I have previously quoted. You have to be familiar with the general bullshit of Asian religious terminology, and I don't have the patience to deal with that here. Nor do I consider it all that important; it is like tarot cards, the I Ching, ouija boards, astrology and the rest, merely an ephemeral phenomanon – a fad, to put it bluntly, which will vanish as the children grow up. The things I am interested in here are those that persist throughout one's life; love, war, hate, poverty, peace, injustice, outrage. The counterculture buries these root issues under a mountain of mystical manure. I am sympathetic to their proposals for the legalisation of grass (marijuana) because having tried it on several occasions myself, I find it a milder and more pleasant drug than beer. Indeed I would prefer it to beer were it not for the extortionate blackmarket prices. As to other drugs, I believe most of them to be a quick way out of this world – particularly one such as STP (Serenity/Tranquility/Peace), methyl-methoxyamphetamine, which was cynically developed for the US army for use against enemy troops (the army calls it JB314). You do your thing on STP and you aid the military establishment as well as wreck your own personality. By all means, as another graffito put it, GROW YOUR OWN GRASS, but Christ – STP! You'd be better off letting them blow your body to pieces in Vietnam.

There is such an energetic resurgeance in the writing of graffiti that you cannot touch upon it all – certainly not in a short article like this one. I recently saw a BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL sign in a Brisbane underpass (imported slogan and not very original, but we do live in an international community after all). This will undoubtedly be countered by BLOODY BOONGS or NIGGER LOVER. I am fairly confident of this having seen Queensland's racist nature at close range. I could not quite get used to the way they kept talking about the "darkies". Bjelke, baby, take note.

Women's Lib has its own wall-daubs too: MISS AMERICA IS A VIRGIN. I don't agree. I think she's a robot (I'm not being anti-American – miss whatever country...)

The last types of graffiti I want to mention are those concerning the quality of life, the environment and pollution. IF YOU KEEP SHITTING ON THE WORLD, THE WORLD IS GOING TO REPLY – ENERGETICALLY. It's a bit overlong, but the substance is there with a bang – more appropriately phrased, I'd say, than most of the wishy-washy statements of the each-way betting scientists. Straight-betting professor Erlich might appreciate this one: I HATE CROWDS – USE THE PILL. But better than all the "Save Lake Pedder – Save Myall Lakes" car stickers is this well-conceived charcoal scrawl: THE FOREST PRECEDES MAN – THE DESERT FOLLOWS.

There is one graffito I'd like to see in Peking: CHAIRMAN MAO JUST MIGHT BE A MEGLOMANIAC. Well yes, I think there's a good chance that a man who sets himself up as the one true religion of 800 million people just might be. . . But what about GOD LIKES SPECTATOR SPORTS or GOD LOVES YOU – HE JUST DOESN'T WANT TO GET INVOLVED. Hmmm – now I wonder what they mean. . .

by John Gibson

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The Paperback Library – Oct., 1970
THE OPEN CONSPIRACY – by Ethel Grodzins Romm – Avon Books – 1971

My cheif reference, however, was in the walls of Sydeny, Melbourne and Brisbane. Thanks to the anonymous wall poets.

What Individualist Anarchists Want

Individualists are anarchists who dislike above all the organised collective – society – irrespective of the form it takes; i.e. the State and its institutions. Organised society or governmental administration are for them equally injurious and restrictive of individual initiative, reducing to the same common denominator those that they govern.

The human milieu – any human milieu – can be conceived of in two ways: either the individual is relative to it, or it is relative to the individual. Individualists want a milieu conceived for the individual. Such a milieu would be relative to the individual and would neither exist nor function, except **by and for** the individual.

One may criticise this egotistical conception. One may consider it foolish, prejudiced, not likely to endure and so on. However that may be, such is the case. Anyone who has not understood this has understood nothing of the work, effort and propaganda of individualist anarchist life.

Individualist effort consists of being perpetually on guard against the encroachments of society, which in its different aspects wants to hold in subjection the individual, regarding him as "human material" and understanding its success by considering him only as a piece of machinery – economic, political, moral and so forth. Now, a piece of machinery is only serviceable insofar as it fulfils the role assigned to it. A piece of machinery that gets out of order, or stops, endangers the working of the whole mechanism. One cannot conceive of a spring, a fly-wheel or an element of a battery which would dispute its utility – that would be the end of the mechanism to which it belonged.

The individualist refuses to occupy the place of a cog in the social machine, and he struggles with all his force to reduce its constraints, if not to nothing, then at least to a minimum. His great preoccupation is to defend himself against its attacks. He succeeds or he fails, but conqueror or conquered his state of mind and his way of life remains the same. After all, he is never absolutely beaten; he suffers, but he does not submit. His acquiescence is a pretence. He humbles himself only in appearance. He considers as invalid any enforced contract, even making use of the law to evade it and render it null and void. The individualist desponds to the force of obligation by the strength of stratagem. That is to say, he opposes personal intelligence to collective violence. That is why, as long as he is alive, he ignores final defeat. Even when crushed, even when unable to move, the individual does not for a single moment cease to be inwardly a rebel.

Stirner quite rightly distinguished between revolution and insurrection. The revolutionary aims at a total transformation of the social condition according to a complete plan defined in advance, or one that can be defined later on. The insurrectionary struggles to diminish or annihilate the oppression which weighs on him. He fights in order that he shall not be forbidden to be or to do, in order not to be constrained to be or to do, so that he can maintain and affirm his partial or complete autonomy. The individualist makes no pretence of having in his possession a secret of a panacea destined to make everyone happy. He rebels against everything that tends to restrain his powers or is liable to prevent him attaining his personal well-being – it being understood that this well-being is conceived of without the domination of exploitation of other people.

When confronted with a discovery of a scientific, mechanical or any other kind of application, the individualist does not ask, for example, if this "progress" **will** shorten his hours of work; he asks first of all if it will make him more or less dependent upon the collectivity. This is his standard: the greater or lesser dependence upon society. "All very well your discoveries and their practical application," he says, "all very fine your barrack-like workshops, houses, schools – ordered, rationalised, regimented – your civic memorandums, your social constraint of the individual, your protection of the citizen. But so far as I am concerned as an individualist, will all this make me more or less dependent upon society?"

The "association of egoists" is above all a defence association composed of individuals wishing to make themselves more independent of the organised collective. Whatever end they pursue or regulations they willingly impose upon themselves, they intend by this means to escape the confines of society and to resist its encroachments. The more they can create these associations, the more society loses its power. The more they make free agreements, the more the enforced social contract loses its importance. Voluntary association and free agreement demonstrate the uselessness of society and the enforced contract, since with them one obtains superior results, as regards the autonomy and assertion of the individual, to any offered by social organisation which inevitably sacrifices the individual to the efficacy of the machine.

Divide and conquer is also an individualist device.

Do not challenge the individualist anarchist with the existence of a heritage, fruit of the labours of former generations. Before examining the actual worth of his heritage so far as it concerns him, the individualist will tell you that the fact of having been thrust into a world in which he must, willingly or unwillingly, submit to

organisation, amply compensates for the hypothetical advantages of the heritage in question.

Do not demand of the individualist anarchist that he agree to a tentative collective transformation of society which politically, economically, or otherwise renders the ego more completely dependent upon the average mentality of the multitude or of its majority – the producing and consuming agglomeration! The individualist anarchist can only agree to a transformation which implies a complete reversal of current values – that is to say, which places social responsibility upon the ego, which bases the social upon the individual.

Do not speak to the individualist anarchist of forms of society which later on, when he will no longer be there to enjoy them, will relate the human milieu to the individual. The individual anarchist is neither of the illuminati nor a mystic: for him, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. He does not mind being accused of adopting a short-term point of view, or of never going beyond a narrow horizon. He speaks to the present. And he argues that if the rational instinct of self-preservation had prevailed over every other consideration, the world would not find itself in the state of deadlock into which it has been driven. Neither the egoist, nor the association of egoists, have led humanity to the brink of annihilation. It is the sacrifice of the ego to altruism – the altruism of the State, society, nation, party, religion, etc. On the altar of forced solidarity has been thrown the self – throbbing, quivering, recalcitrant, bleeding. Today is being reaped what has been sown. The mass follows the individual into the grave. And this is just. It has not been understood that in eliminating the individual, one is preparing the ruin of all. No inventor has ever bothered about individual production – I mean to say, the application of scientific discoveries for the profit of the producer or personal manufacturer. So we get crises, enforced idleness, customs barriers, menacing wars. Certainly, there is mass production, but it is paralleled by mass destruction. A cog does not think, does not argue, does not discuss. It is a cog. The last war was an incomplete victory of collective altruism over personal egoism; the next will be a complete triumph.

The individualist is not intolerant or fanatical – he is not one of those who know that they are in the right. He does not want to achieve by force, I repeat, the welfare of anyone. It may be that after all, the multitude are incapable of acting in any other way than altruistically – that the crowd, generally speaking, cannot go beyond the sacrifice of the Arena. It cannot be helped.

All that the individualist asks is to live his own life; he affirms nothing but his right to exist. It is because he does not wish to be a cog in the machine, or an instrument of society; it is because he has no inclination to drown himself, to become absorbed or integrated into the "collective soul", that his right to existence and his affirmation of this right are not so obvious as the right to existence of those who neither share nor adopt his concepts of life.

That is why one will always find the individualist willing to make a contract with grouping, to the terms of which each party will live, organise himself as he thinks best and mutually guarantee security. That is why one will always find individualists, alone or associated, willing to renounce the "protection" of the State, the "benefits" of society, since they are left "free" (at their own risk and peril and without interfering in the groups outside of them) to live their own lives: ethically, economically, sexually, intellectually, etc.

With regard to any collectivity which wishes to make them do anything against their liking, the individual anarchists will hold themselves on the defensive and will consider themselves in a permanent state of insurrection, open or concealed, according to circumstances. And what anti-authoritarian will reproach such an attitude?

– B. A. (a Melbourne High School student)

More than Apathy

"The community will soon have to decide whether to be or not to be; either the police must be and then the community cannot be – or, the community must be and then the police cannot be. Only one of the two is possible." (**Arbeiter Zeitung,** *March 11, 1835.)*

There have been several incidents in the New York area in recent weeks on which we should like to comment. The daily papers have indulged in varying speculations and a number of letters to the editors indicate the serious concern of many people

Returning home from her night job on March 13th, Miss Catherine Genovese was repeatedly stabbed on a street of the well-to-do Kew Gardens residential section of Queens. She screamed loudly, rousing the neighborhood. Thirty-eight persons have admitted to being witnesses. None of these went to her assistance. When after 35 minutes someone called the police, the young woman was dead.

On May 4th, an 18 year-old girl office worker was attacked on a busy Bronx street in broad daylight. After being raped, she was brutally beaten by her assailant, over a period of 20 minutes. Forty bystanders failed to lift a hand or for that matter call the police, who eventually arrived accidentally on their own.

The various published comments on these truly shameful episodes, correctly touch on many of the reasons behind the lack of action of the witnesses and bystanders, many of whom were later interviewed as to the reasons for their apparent apathy. One of the main "explanations" given was fear of "involvement" with the police who usually give a hard time to the nosey outsider trying to help. Others expressed simple physical fear, or apathy, while some admitted they were "too tired" to bother.

It has been observed that constant exposure as watchers, to portrayals of violence on television may tend to harden the watchers and may also tend to make them perennial watchers instead of participants. A **New York Post** columnist attributed it to the alienation of most New Yorkers from their neighbors whom they usually do not know; to the lack of a most elementary sense of community.

Undoubtedly each of the above is part of the explanation but the fundamental causes lie much deeper. The tradition of violence beyond the power of the individual to cope has become, thanks to two world wars and decades of growing totalitarianism, a dominant feature of our culture. Vietnamese babies are roasted by American flame-throwers, about which most Americans feel they can do nothing and wind up by not appearing to care.

Those who do care and who attempt to protest, rapidly find themselves involved with the authorities. White rapists murder at will in Mississippi and Alabama and most white Americans simply regret the incident.

In our complex society people have been trained to delegate their social responsibilities to public agencies which are beyond their control. By confusing the State with society, the ever more powerful State apparatus is encouraged to encroach to an ever greater degree on the proper functions of society and its individuals. The police are considered responsible for the safety of all individuals — in our streets, in our parks and in our homes. Neighbors or passersby are discouraged from any and all initiative. Even to call an ambulance in New York City, it is necessary first to summon a cop. Those who attempt to help their fellow humans are treated with suspicion and are subject to harrassment and persecution by the police.

An insolent "Move on!" is the watchword of those who although paid as "public servants" consider themselves a privileged caste. The members of the police force probably have the highest incidence of crime and violence of any group of like size in the general populace. This is even evident in published newspaper reports, although naturally only a fraction is ever made public. In treatment of suspects, especially if these be youths, Negroes or Puerto Ricans, they are often guilty of assault and other acts which, if prosecutible would be more serious offenses than those of which their victims are accused. One need only refer to numerous harrassments and even murders on the streets and beatings in the back rooms of station houses. These things are generally known but they are not nice to think about and most citizens take the same attitude to them as did the equally irresponsible neighbors of Miss Genovese in Kew Gardens.

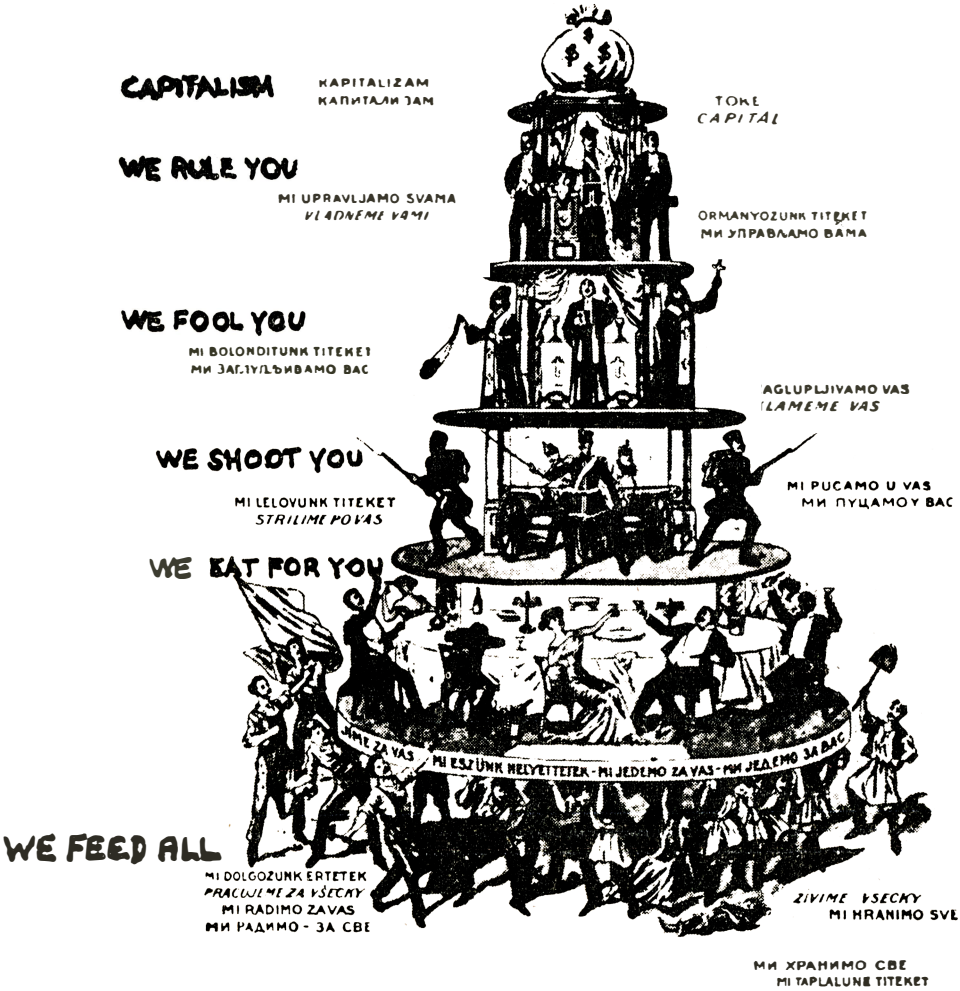
But this is not always so. At times, the sense of human solidarity and concern for others which is an inborn quality in people, comes through regardless of obstacles. This is what happened when the Police Lieutenant Gilligan murdered 15 year-old James Powell outside of his summer-session junior high school in Manhattan on July 23rd. The young Negro Powell's schoolmates reacted immediately and it called for a hundred uniformed head-beaters to put down the riot during which the kids taunted the cops to "Come on, kill another nigger!" This was not a case where the citizen could expect help from the police since the criminal was a cop loaded down with departmental citations. Perhaps this was one of the factors that impelled the students to act for themselves with the only means at their disposal.

As Anarchists we feel that everyone should be fully responsible for the well-being of other human beings. Such an attitude of mutual aid is naturally inherent in people. It has tended to atrophy to the extent that authoritarian institutions have usurped social functions. Only with an ethic based on attitudes of human solidarity can a truly great civilization be built. While this may never be completely achieved, it is an objective toward which socially conscious people must incessantly strive.

Every limitation on the powers of organized authority represents a step in this direction. Every assumption of responsibility by people — private citizens — individually and collectively, represents a step in this direction.

— R. B.

"More Than Apathy" is reprinted from the now defunct **Views and Comments of the Libertarian League** *(New York, number 47, summer 1964. Macquarie Uni Library has a small collection of* **Views and Comments** *and wishes to increase it. If anybody has any back issues they could send them to us, and we will forward them to the library.*



TO BE GOVERNED is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled; assessed weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right, nor the knowledge, nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. 1851

This list is by no means complete. There are probably a dozen more periodicals with Libertarian content in English, as well as about 30 more in other languages. See the December '72 issue of **Match!** *for a good descriptive list, including the US right-wing Libertarian areas. For more information write to us.*

PERIODICALS:

The Match! (monthly paper, very good) US$3
c/ F. Woodworth, P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722 USA
Anarchist Black Cross (monthly) US$3 for 10
c/ I.W.W., 2440 Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60614 USA
Black Flag (near monthly) 75p for 12
10 Gilbert Place, London WC 1
Anarchy (near monthly magazine) £ 2.25 for 12
29 Grovesnor Ave., London N 5
Black & Red Outlook (anarchist-syndicalist alliance monthly paper, very good) 1/year
c/ A. Portus, 116 Gilda Brook Road, Eccles, Lanco.
Siren (anarcho - feminist newsletter, near monthly) US$2 per year
c/ Leed, 950 W. Wrightwood Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60614 USA
Freedom (weekly paper) £ 5 (air) £ 3(sea)
84B Whitechapel High St, London E 1
Earthworks (near monthly) $3.50/year
1114 Barrington St., Halifax, N.S., Canada
Our Generation (quarterly journal) $5.00/year
3934 Rue St., Urbain, Montreal 131
Minus One (individualist irregular) 6 for 50p
S. E. Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London W2 6AH
SRAF Bulletin (information and correspondence monthly newsletter) US$2 for 12
Box 4091, Mountain View, California 94040 USA
Libertarian Teacher (near monthly journal) 5 for 50p
Black Flag Books, 1 Wilne St, Leicester
Dingo
P.O. Box 294, Collingwood, Victoria Australia 3066
Libertarian Broadsheet
Box 2986 G.P.O., Sydney NSW 2001
Outlaw
P.O. Box 159, Fitzroy Victoria Australia 3065
Nosotros (in Spanish)
P. Gellego, 29 Rose St., Fitzroy Victoria Australia 3065
Democráta (in Spanish)
C.D.R. Box 103, Matraville, NSW Australia 2036
Ruta (in Spanish)
Apartado 61, 881, Este, Caracas 106 Venezuela
A (in Italian)
cas. post. 3240, 20100 Milano, Italy
Umanita Nova
Via del Taurino 27, Rome, Italy
Volonta (in Italian)
Via Roma, 101-87100 Cosenza, Italy
Industrial Worker
I.W.W. 2440 Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60614 USA

Pacifist Anarchist Vegetarian Ecological STONES!
P.A.V.E. STONES (An I.W.W. service) — at cost and postage only. Send stamped addressed envelope to: P. Stones, Box 25, Warrawong, NSW 2502.

A "Political" Statement

We are all, each one of us, both oppressor and oppressed in whatever combination of categories we find ourselves – man, woman, white, black, adult, kid, rich, poor, straight, gay, beautiful, ugly, etc. etc. etc. And that's why we need to bring politics back into the substance and texture of our daily lives with a comprehensive world view in which we would recognize domination in all its subtle forms, as well as its categorical manifestations.

We've had 200 years of "revolutions" and yet we aren't free. We have always allowed others to control our struggles and then we find, invariably, that these others control our lives. To have control over our own daily lives requires political awareness, organization and change based in our own daily lives. Technology and domination will bring about social and ecological disaster. Technology and freedom can provide the basis for a post-scarcity abundance in which human society can flourish undistorted by the age-old anxiety of survival. Utopia is necessary.

Times change and with them their possibilities;
TIMES CHANGE AND WITH THEM THEIR DEMANDS

On the back cover:

"The 10 Commandments for Liberation" printed on the back cover is from "Burn This and Memorize Yourself – Poems for Women". By Alta and published by Times Change Press, 1023 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10018 USA.

T.C.P. have a free illustrated catalogue of pamphlets and posters available. They are also interested in suggestions for articles to re-publish. We have a few T.C.P. pamphlets for sale, as follows:

Murry Bookchin **Listen Marxists** ($1)
Pamela Allen **Free Space – the Small Group in Women's Liberation** ($1.25)
Hip Culture - 6 views (3rd world, yippies, high school, marxist, feminist, anarchist) ($1.25)
Unbecoming Men (Men's liberation group) ($1.25)
Alta's **Burn This and Memorize Yourself** (50c)

Any or all of these are available from the Sydney University Anarchist Group, Box 131, Sydney University Union, 2006.

10 commandments for liberation

1 ● thou shalt clean up thine own messes.
no servants whether paid (cleaning ladies)
or indentured (wives).

2 ● thou shalt not use other people. as tom
hayden used james rector to advertise
people's park, as marxists use workers
to overthro the ruling class, as i just
used tom hayden for demonstration purposes.

3 ● thou shalt not foul. the air, with motor
vehicles, the water, with detergents,
the earth, with chemicals and pesticides.

4 ● thou shalt not deny any person's
humanity. blacks are not niggers, vietnamese
are not gooks, women are not chicks,
cops are not pigs.

5 ● thou shalt not endanger other people
for an idea.

6 ● thou shalt not be ashamed. we are all
perverts. we all have pasts we could spend
our whole lives denying.

7 ● thou shalt revel in what you really are:
don't change your looks, don't stop
talking, go ahead and be.

8 ● listen to your body: it will let you
know whether or not you are content

9 ● living things shall be allowed to
breathe & grow.

10 ● write your own commandments. i am only
a person like you. "burn this
& memorize yourself."